

GENESIS OF LANCASTER

OR THE THREE REIGNS

OF EDWARD II, EDWARD III, AND RICHARD II

1307—1399

BY

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LL.D., LITT.D.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

WITH these two volumes I offer the fifth and-last instalment of my work. I hope that it may be found as useful, and meet with as friendly a reception as the previous issues. I claim at any rate to have laid before the public a fully-referenced general history of England, from the earliest times to the accession of the House of Tudor. Till now a work of that description could only be found in a foreign tongue; a *general* history, I say, because for internal affairs the Constitutional History of Bishop Stubbs stands alone. My obligations to him will be found to be acknowledged at every step, with a frankness that has not always been shown by those who have borrowed his ideas. My work, however, like his, may lay claim to the advantage of being the product of one single pen, on a consistent and uniform plan throughout, without incongruity of theories, or overlapping of matter. The writer having had the whole story through his hands can take a comprehensive survey, and lead the reader backwards or forwards, as the case may be, for contrast or comparison, better than one whose attention has been concentrated on a single reign or epoch.

The scheme of my work, as based throughout on a personal study of the original authorities, while taking full account of all recent sidelights and illustrations, has been explained in Prefaces to previous issues, and may be said to be now too well known to need further explanation. I follow, no doubt, a path that has been made plain by the labours of previous investigators; but, nevertheless, there are interesting facts and touches of life and colour to be picked up by one not too much pinched for room. My aim is to give the reader something of a picture of the times and the people as they were—so closely related to us but yet so different. Under two

distinct heads I claim to have brought to light a considerable array of drier facts never before communicated to the public; and, so far, to have laid our knowledge on a firmer basis. I refer, of course, to military affairs and domestic finance.

In connexion with the former subject I have visited the scenes of all the more important engagements, and I offer plans with details marked on the spot. The sites of Bannockburn and of Crécy have never been in doubt; the numbers of those engaged, and the tactics of the contending parties, being the points on which writers have differed. The site of the battle of Poitiers had never been determined, except within certain very general limits. My investigations on the spot I found most instructive, enabling me to fix a site in entire accord with the accounts of the day, a site fully accounting for the success of the English, while doing justice to the chivalry of the French. In the same connexion I continue my attacks on chroniclers' figures; and I still struggle to bring scholars and the general public to a better appreciation of their untrustworthiness, and a realization of the very modest dimensions of all things mediaeval except the castles and the cathedrals. With our own more recent writers I trace a growing sobriety in their estimates of figures: abroad I find writers of the highest repute still swallowing Froissart's numbers without an effort; and even at home it is painful to have one Professor thinking that Edward II could have led 60,000 men to the field of Bannockburn; and another Professor quoting, without comment or note of admiration, the allegation of a chronicler that a Scottish Regent at the beginning of the fifteenth century, hastening to the relief of a Border Peel under terms of surrender, took with him 50,000 cavalry and 'almost as many foot'!

In the matter of national or rather of royal finance I may also claim to have done substantial work. If I may be allowed to review what I have done, with the reign of Henry I we get the first official return of the King's

English income, in the shape of the Pipe Roll of his thirty-first year (1130-1131), the only Pipe Roll of his reign that has come down to us. The sums paid in give a total of £24,000, with blanks, the filling up of which might bring the Revenue up to £30,000. Of the Norman Revenues little account has been preserved; but I may say that more money could always be squeezed out of Normandy alone than out of the whole of England. For the 'Anarchy' no accounts are forthcoming; for the reign of Henry II the totals of four Pipe Rolls have been taken out, without showing any swelling of the Revenue. For the time of Richard I an examination of the taxes imposed by him hardly suggests a Revenue even of £20,000. For the time of King John one Pipe Roll has been added up, and it gives the handsome total of £34,516 12s. 3d. Under Henry III we get the benefit of the Pell Rolls and the Wardrobe Accounts, to supplement the original Pipe Rolls; and from this time to the end of my period Tables giving the totals of all extant years have been printed by me in one form or another. Those for the reign of Henry III will be found in the 'Dawn of the Constitution',¹ being partly taken from the Tables printed by Mr. Whitwell in the *English Historical Review*.² Unfortunately the accounts of only two years are complete, but they may be said to be in substantial accord with the total shown by John's Pipe Roll. For the reign of Edward I the Tables are given in the 'Dawn',³ showing a Revenue that ultimately might rise to £95,000 a year or upwards. For the reigns of Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II the Tables are given in my present issue. It will be seen that under the Second Edward the average Revenue hardly kept up to that of his father; while under Edward the Third it rises to £140,000 a year, a high level maintained throughout the reign of his grandson. For the time of Richard II I have printed analyses of Issue Rolls, to show the expenditure,⁴ as well as of Receipt

¹ pp. 293-297.

² Vol. XVIII, p. 710.

³ pp. 538-542.

⁴ *Antiquary*, iv. 205.

Rolls to show the details of the Revenue. For the finance of Henry IV the reader has Tables in the Antiquary,¹ with further figures in 'Lancaster and York',² where an average income of £106,000 a year is suggested. For the Revenue of Henry V Tables are given, Antiquary,³ and 'Lancaster and York',⁴ showing an average income that might run from £122,000 to £142,000 a year. For the troubled days of the unfortunate Henry VI the reader has Tables in the Antiquary⁵ and further figures and calculations in 'Lancaster and York',⁶ suggesting an effectual income that might run at different times from £70,000 to £80,000 or perhaps even to £90,000 a year. For the reign of Edward IV the Pell Rolls are defective, but in 'Lancaster and York'⁷ grounds will be found for allowing a Revenue not materially differing from that of Henry VI; while finally I close with Tables for the three years of Richard III with £82,000 accounted for the financial year (1384-1385.⁸) — 1484-1485

Towards the history of the Customs I claim to have contributed a substantial instalment. This source of Revenue may be said to begin with the reign of Edward I and the year 1275. From that year to the year 1399 the reader has the totals of all the Customs accounts that are extant, year by year. For the reign of Edward II he has in addition the details of the receipts at each individual port for each year of the reign.⁹ Later reigns are less fully dealt with. For the reign of Henry IV the totals of five years are given, with one borrowed from Mr. Hamilton Wylie.¹⁰ For the reign of Henry V five years again have been taken out:¹¹ thirteen for that of Henry VI;¹² nine for that of Edward IV;¹³ and for that of Richard III the whole returns of the period, port by port.¹⁴

I close a work that I never ventured to hope that

Vol. VI, p. 104.

² Vol. I, p. 155.

³ Vol. VIII, p. 99.

⁴ Vol. I, pp. 315-321.

⁵ Vol. X, p. 194; and Vol. XIV, p. 100.

⁶ Vol. II, p. 262.

⁷ Vol. II, pp. 466, 471.

⁸ Lancaster and York, II. 560.

⁹ Engl. Hist. Rev., XXVI. 100-108.

¹⁰ Lancaster and York, I. 151.

¹¹ Ibid., 313.

¹² Ibid., II. 266.

¹³ Ibid., II. 470.

¹⁴ Ibid., II. 559.

I should live to finish with a sense of thankful relief. The reader will stare if I inform him that it has been my standing occupation since the outbreak of the Franco-German War. My grown-up children do not remember the time when it was not in progress. A change of plan adopted after the work had been carried a considerable length necessitated a re-reading of all the authorities, and a practical re-writing of the text. This must be offered as some explanation of the tardy output. Dealing with original authorities, full of suggestive incidents, one was constantly tempted to follow side-issues—valuable as buttressing—when condensation was the primary law. Anyhow I cannot consider the time devoted to this work to have been wasted or misspent.

Where the *ipsissima verba* of an author are given without modification, double turned commas (" ") are used. If the words are translated, transliterated or in any way modified, single commas (' ') are used, as " Lordes Temporals ", ' Lords Temporal '.

JAMES HENRY RAMSAY.

BAMFF, 1913.

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ERRATA

- p. 252, note (5); for William VII of Gueldres *read* of Juliers
- p. 266, note (1); for Charles the Bad, grandson of Louis Hutin
read Philip of Evreux in right of his wife Jeanne, daughter of
Louis Hutin
- p. 277, lines 13 and 14; for the *present text* *read* Robert, who had
already been his *locum tenens*, and in the course of the year
was appointed Bishop of Chichester
- p. 320, margin; for French successes *read* Fresh successes
- p. 327, lines 22 and 23; for Hugh le Despenser IV *read* Hugh le
Despenser III
- p. 361, note (3); for Parning *read* Bouchier
- p. 394, third line from bottom; for Maurice Berkeley *read* Thomas
Berkeley
- p. 446, lines 2 and 3; to Blanche and her husband *add* namely,
John of Gaunt, the King's son
- p. 462, line 20; for John IV *read* John V

EDWARD II "OF CARNARVON"

Born 25th April 1284.¹—Began to reign 8th July 1307.—Died 21st Sept. 1327.

CHAPTER I

A.D. 1307-1308

Accession.—Campaign in Scotland.—Parliament.—Ascendancy of Peter of Gaveston.—Marriage and Coronation of the King.—Baronial Opposition.

At the accession of the First Edward we hailed the advent of a prince whose character and antecedents gave every promise of a glorious and successful reign. The forecast was justified in every respect. At the advent of his son we find ourselves confronted by a dismal contrast. We have before us a young man of three-and-twenty, who had already established a reputation for dissipation and extravagance,² and an utter disregard for the dignity and duties of his station. "*Successit Edwardus iunior seniori ed eo modo quo Roboam Salamoni.*"³

CHAP. I
1307

Physically he was not unworthy of his sire, being tall, well-made and good-looking. The chronicler thought that had he given himself to martial exercises he might have rivalled the prowess of the mighty Richard.⁴ He

The young king.

His appearance

¹ Florence, Continuation, II. 232; Wykes, 295.

² See Dawn of the Constitution, 505. For the lawless rapine in which Edward's household indulged round Dunstable in 1294 see Annals of Dunstable, 392. Over 600 letters written by or for the Prince, A.D. 1304-1305, are extant (9th Deputy Keeper's Report, Appendix II, 246-249), a most uninteresting collection, mostly begging letters, asking for favours, commonly church preferment, for protégés. Official letters to the clergy are in Latin, the rest in French. In one letter he acknowledges the receipt of the seal of his sister Jeanne, Countess of Gloucester, sent to him—as good as a blank cheque book! In a nice letter he remembers his nurse Alice Segrave and her daughter.

³ Chron. Lanercost, 209.

⁴ "Vir elegans corpore, viribus praestans," Knighton, 2531. "O si armorum sibus se exercitaret regis Ricardi probitatem praecederet, . . . cum statura longus et fortis viribus, formosus homo, decora facie," Monachus Malmesburiensis, 22 (Rolls Series, No. 76, vol. II; Bp. Stubbs). "Fust de soun corps un dez plus portz hom de soun realme," Scalacronica, 136.

CHAP. I

1307

and
character.

had shown some spirit in the Scottish campaigns;¹ but it became clear in time that he had no taste for soldiering or even for the mimic warfare of the tiltyard. He had no aims, "no kingly pride or sense of duty, no industry or shame or piety. He is the first King since the Conquest who was not a man of business, well acquainted with the routine of government."² The pursuit of pleasure was his business; and as his *physique* was his strong point he devoted himself to outdoor amusements, and athletic and manual exercises. He was fond of hunting, of course, and devoted to horses and dogs; but he was also skilful in driving and rowing, and could even find vent for his energies in such humble work as ditching or thatching. Of an evening he could take up mechanical tools, and employ himself in metal-work or the like.³ But he was also very fond of theatricals.⁴ In a later age he might have figured as the President of a Royal Four-in-hand Club; or earned popularity as the Captain of a Boat Club. But the Thirteenth Century had no such openings for sporting or athletic magnates. Then the unfortunate thing was that the only companions with whom Edward cared to associate were the men with whom he came into contact in connexion with his favourite pursuits, such as coachmen, watermen, mechanics, play-actors, minstrels, and buffoons. With such as these he could chatter and drink at his ease; the society of men of rank he habitually avoided.⁵ Having no self-respect he could stoop to playing rough practical jokes on dependants,⁷ and could be free with his hands if a servant chanced to offend him.

One especial confidant he had in the person of Pierre de

¹ Dawn, 474, 480, 512.

² Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 328.

³ "Dederat enim se in privato ab adolescentia sua arti remigandi, et bigarum ducendi, foveas faciendi, et domos cooperiendi, ut communiter dicebatur; artium etiam fabrilium de nocte cum suis sodalibus operando et aliis artibus mechanicis;" Lanercost, 232.

⁴ Mon. Malm. 197.

⁵ "Il estoit large . . . et mult coumpaignable à sez privez;" Scalacr. 136.

⁶ "Parvipenso procerum contubernio adhaesit scurris, cantoribus, tragoedis aurigis, fossoribus, remigibus, navigiis et caeteris artis mechanicae officiis potibus indulgens;" Knighton, sup. See also Fordun, 336.

⁷ See Bain, Calendar of Scottish Documents, 269.

Gaveston,¹ a young man who had been brought up as his playfellow,² and exercised a boundless and most unwholesome influence over him. Peter was "a typical Gascon", quick-witted, brilliant, accomplished; of a fine person, skilled in martial exercises; as a social figure he doubtless threw the English barons into the shade: but he was also vainglorious and presumptuous beyond endurance.³ The hold he had gained on Edward he used persistently for his own advancement, "entirely disregarding the interests of his master." He was not a man of exalted birth, and his position had soon excited great jealousy. His presumption may be judged by the fact that he had induced the Prince to beg of his father for him the grant of the county of Ponthieu, the inheritance of Queen Eleanor.⁴

Gaveston's influence over the Prince of Wales had been a source of trouble and anxiety to the late King, who as we have seen had twice banished him from his son's court. On the latter occasion both had been sworn in the most solemn manner, the one not to return to England, and the other not to recall him, without the King's leave.⁵ The troubles of Henry III had been chiefly caused by his partiality for foreigners. But the men whom he patronized, the Lusignans and Savoyards, belonged to the oldest families in Europe. The Baronage of the younger Edward were faced by the prospect of being supplanted by a mere *roturier*.⁶

Under any circumstances a man succeeding to so successful a ruler as Edward I would be placed in a position of some difficulty. He would have a high standard to face. But young Edward had a special point to contend

Banished
by late
King.

The
outlook.

¹ Gabaston, Basses-Pyrénées, Tout. The chroniclers give the name as Caberston.

² "Consort ejus in adolescentia sua;" "camerarius familiarissimus," Mon. Malm. 155.

³ "Erat iste Petrus . . . corpore agilis et elegans, ingenio acer, moribus curiosus, in re militari satis exercitatus," G. Baker, 4 (ed. E. M. Thompson). "Tresnoblis, largis, et gentil de maner, mais orgillous et sourqidrous en party," Scalacr. 139. "Fastus intolerabilis," Mon. Malm. 168.

⁴ Hemingburgh, II. 272; Bp. Stubbs.

⁵ See Dawn, 514.

⁶ "Alti sanguinis linea carens," Westm. III. 139.

CHAP. I

1307

with in the fact that his father's success had been largely gained at the expense of the old feudal Baronage, and that the men of that class might be expected to be on the look-out to recover somewhat of their old privileges and influence. At the late King's death the Earls of Lincoln¹ and Warwick² were almost the only native Barons of the first rank that he cared to employ. Then of course there was the terrible Scottish war, to which the country felt pledged, but which had baffled the determination and talents of the great Edward. Here again his son had an uphill prospect before him.

The
accession.

On the 7th July Edward I had passed away at Burgh-on-Sands, on his way to Scotland to suppress the fresh rising of King Robert Bruce. Young Edward at the time was in the South making arrangements for his marriage to Isabelle of France. On the 18th July he reached Carlisle, and on the morrow paid a due visit of respect to his father's remains, still lying at Burgh. Next day (20 July) he was proclaimed King, and received the homage of the barons assembled for the Scottish campaign. On the 23rd of the month his accession 'by hereditary descent' (*par descende de héritage*) was notified, and orders given for the proclamation of his peace.³ Taking the reins of government at once into his own hands, he relieved the Chancellor, Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, of the Great Seal, ordering him to send it to Carlisle.⁴ With the levies in the field all ready, the prosecution of the Scottish campaign appeared to the King and his advisers to be clearly the first thing to be taken in hand. Accordingly the funeral of his father and his own coronation were postponed. The late King's bones were sent to find a temporary resting-place at Waltham, under the charge of his faithful servant Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem. The young King accompanied them a few

¹ Henry de Lacy, son of Edmund. He succeeded in July 1257.

² Guy of Beauchamp, son of William. He succeeded in 1298.

³ Lanercost, sup. Parliamentary Writs, II. ii. 3; Foed. II. 1. Edward's regnal years begin on the 8th July, the day after the day of his father's death.

⁴ Foss, Judges, III. 180.

stages on the way, returning to Carlisle by the 31st July.¹ On the 2nd August the Seal reached him at Carlisle,² and he crossed the Border.

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By the 6th August Edward had reached Dumfries. Scotsmen in considerable numbers appeared to render homage—the cheapest mode of buying peace. On the 18th the King moved to Sanquhar, while from the 20th to the 28th he rested at Cumnock in Ayrshire. Aylmer of Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was confirmed as Warden of Scotland, with power of admitting to the peace all who had not been implicated in the murder of Comyn or the late rising. Aylmer, however, a few days later threw up his post, to be replaced by the King's cousin John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond. Detachments were sent out to hunt for Bruce in the North, while Edward himself quietly returned to Carlisle (3rd September).³

Campaign
in Scot-
land.

Already he had shown his contempt for the injunctions of his father and the feelings of the nation. Within four days at the farthest from the time when the Great Seal was delivered into his hands, he had recalled Peter Gaveston and conferred upon him the princely apanage of Cornwall,⁴ reserved by Edward I for one of his younger sons, the King's brothers. In this act of liberality, we are told, the King had the support of the Earl of Lincoln. He had been much employed by the late King, but he had proved a failure both in diplomacy and war. All the other barons protested against such a wanton alienation of Crown property.⁵

Recall of
Gaveston.

The recall of Gaveston was naturally followed by the disgrace of the faithful Treasurer, Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield, the man who had not only resisted the Prince's demands for money, but had

¹ See Dawn, 520; and for Beck, Patriarch of Jerusalem, p. 502. For the funeral procession see a letter from the Carlisle archives printed by Sir H. Nicolas, Chron. Hist. 294.

² Foss, sup.

³ Parly. Writs, I. i. 6; II. ii. 3-5; Foed. II. 1-4; Lanercost.

⁴ Dumfries, 6th August; Foed. II. 2. Edmund, late Earl of Cornwall, only surviving son of the King of the Romans, died *s.p.* in September, 1300. Foed. II. 922.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 155.

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even ventured to lecture him on his habits.¹ He was summarily dismissed from office,² all his property real and personal confiscated, and himself sent to the Tower, in defiance of all episcopal or clerical immunities. The strong boxes deposited by Langton with the Templars, alleged to contain treasure to the amount of £50,000, were broken open in the King's own presence, and their contents bestowed on the insatiable Gascon.³

Parliament.

On the 13th October the King met a full general Parliament at Northampton. The writs had been issued on the 26th of August. At that time Edward had not yet been crowned, nor had his father been buried, but money was needed, and so the assembly had been convened, professedly to advise the King concerning his father's funeral, and his own coronation and marriage, all matters involving expenditure. Recognizing these needs the Estates made liberal grants, the clergy granting a Fifteenth of spirituals and temporals, the barons and counties a Twentieth of movables, and the towns a Fifteenth.⁴ Besides these regular Parliamentary grants the King managed to obtain from the Merchant Vintners of Aquitaine a concession of the *Nova Custuma*, as yet only exigible from foreigners.⁵

Currency.

The subjects discussed in the Parliament included the state of the currency, said to be depreciated to the extent of one-half of its value. Proclamations were issued ordering it to be taken at its full face value.⁶ This proceeding probably had reference to the "crockards" and "pollards", the base coin issued in the late reign, that evidently had not been driven out of circulation by the prohibition issued in 1299. The present effort was seemingly

¹ See Dawn, 505.

² 22 August; Calendar Patent Roll Edw. II, vol. I. 1.

³ Foed. II. 7, 20 September; Heming. II. 273, 274; 'and the old King was not yet buried.' Langton was eventually restored to his bishopric, 3 October 1308, Foed. II. 58, at the instance of the Pope; Ann. Paul. 264.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. i. 3, 8. For the form of assessment see Rot. Parl. II. 442.

⁵ For the Tariff of 1302 see Table A below. The duties included 2s. on the tun of wine, which till then had only been subject to a duty of 8d. the tun.

⁶ Parly. Writs, II. i. 14, 15; and ii. 4, 5; Trevel, Cont., p. 2 (Hall, 1702).

an attempt to rehabilitate them; and the senseless proclamation had to be renewed in 1309 and 1310.¹

The week beginning on the 22nd October was devoted to the obsequies of the late King. Twelve weeks he had rested at Waltham, "by the grave of Harold." On Tuesday 24th October the corpse was laid in state in the church of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate: on the morrow it was taken to St. Paul's: the day after that to the churches of the Friars Minors and Preachers successively, and so on to Westminster. On Friday the 27th October the remains were finally entombed in the Abbey, on the North side of the Confessor's shrine, between the resting-places of his father and his brother. Early Mass was celebrated by the Cardinal Peter of Spain: ² five other episcopal Masses followed, the last offices being chanted by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Anthony Beck.³

The flower of England was there to mourn the great King. But his graceless son had neither thought nor money to waste upon a father's grave. The tomb of Edward the First is simple to rudeness. A plain slab of Purbeck marble resting on Caen stone marks the spot. Even the care of an epitaph was left to a later age. The inscription runs "*Edwardus Primus Scotorum Malleus Hic Est MDCCCVIII Pactum Serva*", where the wrong year betrays the late date of the writing. The style of the lettering also is pronounced as of the sixteenth century.⁴

A fresh social distinction was now conferred upon Gaveston. On the 29th October Edward betrothed him to his niece Margaret, daughter of his sister Jeanne of Acre by her late husband, Gilbert II, Earl of Gloucester. This connexion would bring Peter within the circle of the Royal family.⁵

Betrothal
of Gave-
ston.

In the elation of his new position Gaveston ventured to proclaim a tournament, to be held at Wallingford, a castle appertaining to the "Honour" of Cornwall. An

¹ Foed. II. 84, 114. See Dawn, 458; and Ruding, Annals of Coinage, I. 207.

² For his presence in England see Dawn, 516.

³ See Heming. II. 267; M. Westm. III. 330 (Rolls Series, No. 95).

⁴ See Dean Stanley's Memorials of Westminster, 129, 130.

⁵ Trevel, Cont. 3; Mon. Malm. 156.

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A tourna-
ment.

entertainment of so ambitious a character, given by so young a man, would require to be managed with the utmost tact and care to avoid giving offence. But Peter allowed matters to be so arranged that all the honours of the day fell to himself and his young friends, discomfiture and humiliation being allotted to the Earls of Hereford, of Warenne, and of Arundel, some of the biggest men of the land.¹ Such reckless folly could not fail to bring its own Nemesis.

The Great Seal taken from Ralph of Baldock had been shortly given to John of Langton, Bishop of Chichester, a man who had held the office for nine years in the previous reign.² This appointment, coupled with that of John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond,³ as Warden of Scotland, a post that he had held before, shows that Edward had no general purpose of reversing his father's acts or measures, no aim beyond that of indulging his personal likings and dislikings. On the 22nd August Walter Reynolds had been appointed Treasurer. Son of a Windsor baker, and alleged to be a man of no education, he had nevertheless been appointed by Edward I tutor to the Prince, and became Keeper of his Wardrobe. He assisted the youth in his theatricals and other amusements, and in short played his cards so well that he managed to retain the favour both of Royal father and of Royal son.⁴

Towards the Scots no change of purpose was evinced. Writs of military summons calling out levies for operations against Bruce, who had reappeared in Galloway, were issued from time to time,⁵ as under Edward I; but not

¹ 2 December, Mon. Malm. 156; Trokelowe, 65 (Rolls Series, No. 28, vol. II). The Earl of Hereford was Humphrey Bohun III, who succeeded his father Humphrey II in 1298; John of Warenne II succeeded his grandfather John I as Earl of Sussex in 1305. Arundel was Edmund Fitzalan, who succeeded his father Richard as second Earl in 1302.

² Foss, III. 180. The exact date of the appointment does not appear. No connexion has been traced between this Langton and the offending Walter.

³ Younger son of John II of Dreux, Duke of Brittany, by the Lady Beatrice, daughter of Henry III. He received the Earldom of Richmond in 1306, his father having died in 1305.

⁴ Foss, II. 388; D. K. Rept., sup.; Mon. Malm. 197.

⁵ Parly. Writs, II. i. 6, 7, 8.

being followed up, led to nothing. In November the Scots began to show themselves in Northumberland.¹

Meanwhile preparations were being pushed on for the King's marriage. On the 6th November plenipotentiaries were named to make final arrangements. Shipping was called to Dover and marquees sent to Boulogne, the place appointed for the ceremony.² Edward must have contemplated sending over at least 1,000 horses, as 5,000 horseshoes with their complements of nails were requisitioned.³ On the 26th December the King appointed Gaveston Regent in his absence, a fresh insult to the nation.⁴ On the 14th January 1308 we find Edward at Dover. From that place he issued writs fixing the 18th February as the day for his coronation, inviting magnates to attend, and ordering suitable men to be sent up as delegates from shires, cities and boroughs.⁵

On Monday 22nd January 1308 the King crossed the Channel. On the 24th he did homage to Philip the Fair for Aquitaine and Ponthieu;⁶ and next day married Isabelle, then about twelve years old, in the Church of Notre-Dame. Three Royal personages with their consorts graced the ceremony, namely Philip IV of France; Charles II "the lame", King of Naples; and Henry of Luxemburg, shortly about to be elected King of the Romans; the Queen Dowager Marguerite was also there. Strange to say the name of the officiating Prelate has not been recorded. On Wednesday 7th February the Royal couple made out the return passage to Dover.⁷ From the 15th to the 20th of the month they rested at Eltham,

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The King's marriage.

¹ Lanercost, 210; Cal. Pat. Rolls, sup. 14.

² Foed. II. 12, 14, 22.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, sup.

⁴ "Ob quam causam murmur immodicus inter proceres regni succrevit;" Walsingham, I. 121.

⁵ Parly. Writs, II. i. 15, 16, and ii. 9; Itinerary Edward II (C. K. Hartshorne).

⁶ Foed. II. 30; Trevet, Cont.

⁷ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 9. Robert of Avesbury, 279 (E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series, No. 93); Trevet, Cont. 3; Trokelowe, 65; De Nangis, Cont. Bouquet, XX. 597; Matt. Westm. III. 331; Cal. Pat. Roll, 25. For Isabelle's jewels, trousseau, and general outfit see the account from the Paris archives printed by Mr. W. E. Rhodes, Eng. Hist. Rev. XII. 517. The outlay came to nearly 21,000 *Livres Parisis* = £5,250 sterling.

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Corona-
tion.

The rites.

advancing to the Tower on the 21st. The State ride to Westminster took place on the 24th. A hundred French knights graced the train of the Royal pair.¹ The Coronation itself was celebrated on the next day, Sunday 25th February, a week later than the day originally fixed. The delay was caused perhaps by resistance to the King's wish that the crown should be carried by Gaveston;² perhaps by "a difficulty as to who should crown the King". Clement V had commissioned the Archbishop of York to perform the office;³ but since then Winchelsey had been reinstated, at Edward's urgent request.⁴ He insisted on his rights, but being too ill to attend in person named as his substitute the Bishop of Winchester;⁵ and by him the hallowing unction was imposed.⁶ The Anglophobe Charles of Valois and Louis of Evreux were there to represent their brother Philip; while the Court circle included the Dukes of Brittany⁷ and Brabant,⁸ Amadeus IV ("Ames") Count of Savoy, and Henry Count of Luxemburg.⁹ The Earl of Hereford carried the sceptre with the cross; Henry of Lancaster, brother of Thomas, carried the rod with the dove, while the Earl of Lancaster himself¹⁰ carried the pointless sword *Curtiana*, the other two swords being borne by the Earls of Lincoln and Warwick. A huge table or chequer board (*scaccarius*) with the robes on it was supported by the Earl of Arundel, Hugh le Despenser,

¹ Itinerary; Liber de Antiquis, 251.

² Ann. Paul. 260; Walsing. I. 121; cf. Lanercost, 211. Gaveston did carry the crown.

³ William of Grenefield, elected in December 1304; Hemingburgh, II. 233; consecrated in 1306, Registrum Sacrum.

⁴ 22 January 1308; Wilkins, Concilia II. 290, 291. Edward had applied twice for the reinstatement of Winchelsey; Foed. II. 23.

⁵ Henry Woodlock, consecrated 30 May 1305; Reg. Sacrum.

⁶ Mon. Malin. 157; Trevet, Cont. 4; Foed. II. 32, 36; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 330.

⁷ Arthur, eldest son of Duke John II and elder brother of John Earl of Richmond.

⁸ John, husband of the King's sister, the Lady Marguerite.

⁹ Foed.; Baker, 4 (ed. Thompson); Trevet, Cont. 4; Ann. Paul. 260.

¹⁰ Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was son of Edmund Crouchback, younger brother of Edward I.

Thomas de Vere son of the Earl of Oxford, and Roger Mortimer of Wigmore.¹ The Mayor and aldermen, clad in silk and samite, discharged the functions of the Butlery,² while the Barons of the Cinque Ports, as of ancient right, supported the canopies over the heads of King and Queen. The appearance of a King's champion at the Coronation must be carried back to this occasion at any rate, as the Castle of Tamworth was held of the Crown in chief, and apparently by Baldwin of Fryville, on the tenure of performing this service of Grand Serjeanty.³

Every preparation had been made to ensure a successful ceremony. A thousand barrels of wine had been ordered from Gascony; all the magnates in England had been invited, with their ladies, and free quarters bespoken for them in London.⁴ But the nation was not in a mood for rejoicing, and the proceedings were mismanaged. The crowd was immense, but under no control: a brick wall enclosing the choir was thrown down by the pressure of the mob and John of Bakewell, a Knight, crushed to death. The rites in consequence had to be scrambled through with irreverent haste. In the evening again the banquet failed to give satisfaction. There was plenty to eat, but no attendance; while Gaveston strutted about in purple, embroidered with pearls, eclipsing the very King himself.⁵

But the coronation was chiefly remarkable for the new and more stringent form of oath introduced, embodying all the old obligations with one distinctly novel; the oath too had to be tendered to the King in French, another novelty, Edward's command of Latin not being equal to the occasion. Eadgar had promised 'to hold Church and people in good peace; to put down evil-doing; and to

The coronation oath.

¹ Son of Edmund who died in 1303.

² Ann. Lond. 52.

³ See Cal. Pat. Roll 2 Edw. III. 278, 313.

⁴ Foed. II. 7; Parly. Writs, II. i. 15.

⁵ See Ann. Paul. 260-262, the account of an eyewitness; Matt. Westm. III. 331. For the state officers and the whole coronation service see Foed. I. 33-36. The recension, however, would seem to belong to the coronation of Richard I, as the three swords are spoken of as appertaining to the Earls of Chester, Huntingdon, and Warwick.

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temper justice with mercy'.¹ This formula had been followed by Henry I, and in substance by Richard and John,² and by Henry III with a special reference to the laws of the Confessor superadded.³ The same formula was now tendered to Edward, with the further requirement that he should promise to 'uphold and defend the laws and righteous customs that the community of the realm should choose'.⁴

It is impossible not to see in these words a demand for recognition of the constitutional rights, and powers of Parliamentary action, obtained by the nation from the King's father.

Baronial
caucus.

The barons—at whose instigation the new promise must have been inserted—no Government officials of themselves would ever have ventured on such a step—were not slow of putting it to the test. "The Gaveston question had already reached an acute stage." Two days after the coronation the Magnates held a private meeting in the Refectory at Westminster, to concert measures—doubtless as to getting rid of Gaveston. Edward, naturally taken aback at so bold a proceeding, sent a message to the effect that if the barons had anything to propose for the honour of God and the good of the realm he would be happy to meet them.⁵ The Magnates assenting, a Grand Council or Parliament of Barons was held on the 3rd March.⁶ A general discussion on the condition of the realm, as affecting Church and Crown, and the state of the peace, was the business laid before the assembly. In the previous year the Earl of Lincoln had stood out as Gaveston's friend.

Grand
Council.

¹ See Foundations of England, I. 319. The oath was 200 years old in the time of Eadgar.

² See Foed. II. 33, and Angevin Empire, 268, where I follow the oath as given by Diceto, II. 156. Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 331, follows the oath as given by Benedict of Peterborough, which I regard as a clerical fabrication. See especially Foed., sup., where the oath as taken by Richard I is evidently given.

³ Namely at his second coronation; Dawn of Constitution, 23.

⁴ "Les loys et les custumes droiturels les quels la communauté de vostre royaume aura eslu." Given in French and Latin, Foed. 36.

⁵ Ann. Paul. 262.

⁶ Parly. Writs, I. i. 18.

Now, we are told, he had become his bitterest enemy, in consequence of Peter's ungrateful attitude.¹ He rose at once to move that the King be requested to give effect to his coronation oath by pledging himself beforehand to satisfy anything that the Barons might resolve upon in connexion with the matters laid before them. The King's response being found unsatisfactory, the Earl proceeded to pledge the Council to combined action. All seemingly gave in their assent, except the bearers of the King's messages, namely Lancaster and Hugh le Despenser the elder. Lancaster had not yet broken with the King; Gloucester held neutral; but Despenser resisted de Lacy's proposal so openly that the latter threatened him with dire consequences if he should venture to stand apart from the rest.² A passage in one writer, a writer of special authority, seems to suggest that the King had answered the Barons by forbidding them to discuss anything that had not received his previous sanction.³

Disaffec-
tion.

The Council ended in preparations for war. The barons went home to set their castles in order; the King did the same; and a general outbreak was thought imminent.⁴ To such a state of confusion had the King's folly already brought the realm. But matters could not be left in such a state. A week later writs were issued for a full Parliament of Magnates to meet on the Quindene of Easter.⁵

On the 30th May the Council met. The Barons had taken the precaution of coming in arms—of course 'in pure self-defence'.⁶ The banishment of Gaveston was their first demand; Peter had plundered the Crown, and alienated the King from his proper advisers, the great men

Grand
Council.

¹ Mon. Malm. 158.

² Mon. Malm., sup.; Ann. Paul. 162; Heming. II. 270, 271.

³ See Ann. Paul. 262. One Baron having urged that it was too much to ask the King to agree to articles that he had not seen, the rest answered, "Nosti quod ne commissione Regis post mandatum suum nichil ordinare possumus de regni negotiis, nec per consequens aliqua depromere in verbo quae nondum concipiuntur a mente." The accounts are not free from confusion.

⁴ Mon. Malm., sup., &c.

⁵ Parly. Writs, II. i. 15.

⁶ "Armata manu, defensionis prorsus non hostilitatis causa," Ann. Paul. 263; Mon. Malm. 159.

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of the land. A bond of confederation was drawn up, propounding the doctrine that homage and allegiance were due to the Crown itself, not to the person of the wearer of it ; and pledging the signatories to the use of strong measures (*asperté, per asperitatem*) to bring the King to ' reason ', if he would not consult the true interests of the Crown and the welfare of the people.¹ The drafting of this clause was attributed to the pen of Hugh le Despenser the younger ; and years later was made the ground of a charge of treason against him.² His father stood by the King.

Gaveston
to be dis-
missed.

Edward struggled hard to evade compliance ; Lancaster was still on his side ;³ the young Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert III of Clare, was kept neutral, partly by royal favours, partly by his connexion with Gaveston, who was betrothed to his sister.⁴ But on the 18th May the Earls of Lincoln, Surrey, Hereford, Warwick, Arundel and Pembroke met at the Temple, and forced the King to agree to dismiss Gaveston by Midsummer Day, obtaining from him letters patent to that effect. Archbishop Winchelsey, who had come home in March,⁵ gave the sanction of his authority, declaring Gaveston excommunicate if he should outstay the term.⁶

Edward " consoled himself " by conferring fresh benefactions on his favourite, and by efforts to emancipate himself from his promise. On the 6th June lands in England to the value of £2,000 a year were granted to Peter, with possessions of equal value in Aquitaine. On the 16th June Edward begs the King of France to intervene on behalf of the faithful and trusted Earl of Cornwall, who has received ' scandalous ' treatment at the hands of the

¹ See the document in French, Ann. Lond. 153 ; Bridlington, 33 (Rolls Series, No. 76, vol. II).

² See below under the year 1321.

³ On the 10th May Thomas had received confirmation of the High Stewardship attached to his Earldom of Leicester, Foed. II. 44.

⁴ Mon. Malm. 158. Gilbert, though a minor, had been admitted to his estates, relieved of Crown debts, and given leave to marry whom he would. Cal. Pat. Rolls, sup., 1, 5, 15, 50.

⁵ Bridlington, 33.

⁶ Foed., sup. ; Trevel, Cont. 5 ; Mon. Malm. 159 ; Ann. Lond. 154.

barons : he applies to the Pope and Cardinals to suspend the excommunication uttered by the Archbishop ; and lastly he seals patents appointing Gaveston King's Lieutenant of Ireland.¹ These documents were sealed by the King in person, the Chancellor apparently having declined to undertake any responsibility in connexion with them.² When the appointed time came the King escorted his favourite to Bristol, and sent him over to his new sphere of action with every mark of honour and esteem.³

At another Council held at Northampton in August, the Barons renewed their attack ; and pressing their advantage, forced the King to dismiss from Court the elder Despenser and Nicholas Segrave the Marshal,⁴ together with two men of minor position, namely William Bereford and William Inge, both of whom, however, lived to become Chief Justices.⁵

¹ Foed. II. 48-51.

² See the Memoranda, Parly. Writs, II. ii. 14, 15.

³ Murimuth, 11. Mon. Malm. and Trevet, Cont. sup.

⁴ He had only been appointed ' Marshal of England ' by the King in March ; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 17 (Palgrave).

⁵ Ann. Paul. 264 ; Chron. Angl. 6-15 ; Itinerary.

CHAPTER II

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1307-1310

Suppression of the Temple Order in France and England.—The war with Scotland.—Growing disaffection of the Baronage.—‘Articles’ presented in Parliament.—Recall of Gaveston.—Demand for a Reforming Committee.—Appointment of the Lords Ordainers.—Invasion of Scotland.

CHAP. II

1307

The
Templars.

THE famous Order of the Temple of Jerusalem had its beginning in the year 1118, when its first Master Hugues de Payns established a band of nine poor knights of the Cross in a house near the Temple, to police the roads leading to Jerusalem, and act as the *gendarmérie* of Palestine.¹ Soldier-monks they were sworn to poverty, chastity and obedience; their rules pledged them to a simple, hardy, athletic life, with all reasonable comforts, free from asceticism or mysticism of any kind. Under the sheltering wing of the Papacy wealth and numbers “rolled in upon them”. They acquired vast estates in Asia and Europe, while their ranks at the last mustered, between knights and followers (*serjeants*), some 15,000 men, of whom one-third were established in France.² The loss of Palestine cut off their proper sphere of action without impairing their organization; and so the exaltation of the Order and its interests became its chief *raison d’être*. Clothed with clerical immunities they enjoyed a practical exemption from spiritual and temporal control. The humble band of poor soldiers of the Cross had become an independent republic, wealthy and formidable. Their houses in Paris

¹ For a short bibliography of the literature connected with the suppression of the Templars, and a summary of the various views that have been held on that much disputed subject, see Lavissee, France, III. 175. The final dispersal of the darkness would seem to be due to H. C. Lea, History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages.

² Lavissee, 177; Milman, Latin Christianity, V. 286.

and London, as we have seen, became banks of safe deposit; and by degrees they embarked on financial operations, negotiating loans, arranging remittances and the like, on the strength of the money entrusted to their keeping.¹ The simplicity of their lives suffered from the increase of riches, while their detachment and pride excited widespread jealousy. But no designs of political action can anywhere be brought home to them.² Of the charges laid against the Order, greed of money was the most common, and silly tales were current among the lower classes as to the means to which they resorted for making money. Then the lives of many of the brethren were open to criticism; while their practice of holding their chapters by night, and with closed doors, excited vulgar suspicion. Men thought that concealment meant something to conceal. Minds less under the influence of suspicion, however, agreed in thinking that the state of the military Orders called for reform, a fusion of the Templars with the Hospitallers being a plan favoured by successive Popes, and much considered by Boniface VIII. In the struggle between him and Philip the Templars had given the King the benefit of their moral support; and he had requited the obligation by favours conferred on them in 1303 and 1304. 'Why, or how, and at what point of time the scheme of destroying the Order was first conceived at the French Court no man knows . . . one fact only is certain, that an attack on the Templars was being mooted in the King's circle in 1305; and that the subject was mentioned to Clement V at Lyons in that year.'³ Writing to Philip on the 24th August 1307, he refers to charges against the Templars that had been laid before him by Philip at Poitiers, that seemed to him 'impossible'; he had seen the Grand Master, who, on learning the bad opinion of the Order entertained by the King, had demanded an inquiry, which he, Clement, fully intended to institute; but mean-

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Jealousy
of them.Movement
for reform.Action of
Philip the
Fair.

¹ For the financial operations of the Templars, Lavissee refers to Delisle, *Mémoires de l'Académie*, vol. XXIII.

² So Lavissee, 177.

³ Lavissee, 180, 181.

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Arrest of
the Tem-
plars.

while he begs for time, on the plea of ill health and need of medical treatment. While the Pope was thus shuffling and wriggling Philip was preparing to act. On the 22nd September the Seals were placed in the hands of William of Nogaret. About that time Jacques de Molai, Grand Master of the Order, had been summoned to Avignon to report on the state of affairs in the East: and had left the Papal court satisfied that he had cleared the character of his Order. On the 12th October he rode unsuspectingly alongside of Philip at a state funeral in Paris. On the morrow, by a perfect *coup d'état* de Molai and all the Templars in France were arrested at one and the same hour, and all their property seized in the name of the Inquisition, on a charge of heresy. 'Thus the Inquisition instituted for the suppression of heresy had become in France, as in Italy, a mere weapon for crushing the adversaries of autocracy.'¹ On the 14th October a hideous indictment against the Templars was issued in the King's name, in a proclamation prefaced by a sanctimonious and most offensive exordium. The Order were charged with requiring novices to abjure Christ and the Cross at initiation; with the practice of idolatrous and indecent rites, and habitual indulgence in gross immorality. Nogaret's experience had taught him the power of resolute lying. He hastens to add in the King's name that he had shrunk from believing such reports, ascribing them to malice, rather than zeal for justice. But the Pope had been consulted, and he had been forced to give in to the proofs laid before him.²

Proceed-
ings insti-
tuted.

Judicial investigations followed. In the course of a month 138 cases were disposed of in Paris by William of Paris, the Inquisitor of France and his Dominicans. Every device of moral and physical torture was exhausted on the accused to extort confessions. Almost all were brought to confess, only to withdraw their admissions at the first opportunity. One man testified to having seen twenty-five brethren succumb to the effects of torture.

¹ Lavissee, 182.² Id. 183.

Similar proceedings were instituted in the Provinces.¹ In one way or another sufficient evidence was procured to enable Philip to demand of Clement the suppression of the Order.

The light derived from the extant proceedings in the case of the Bishop of Pamiers enabled us to gauge the worth of Philip's charges against Boniface VIII.² The same test may be safely employed to dispel for all practical purposes his charges against the Templars. Audacious calumny was the one weapon used in all three cases; and by the threat of calumny Clement was brought to bend to Philip's will. At the first symptom of recalcitrancy on the Pope's part Nogaret met him with a menace of turning on him the poisonous jet of his lies; and Clement, cowed by the memory of the fate of Boniface, submitted.³

The Pope cowed.

Philip must have informed Edward of his proceedings against the Templars very shortly after their arrest; on the 30th October Edward writes back that he and his Council had been astounded at the contents of Philip's letter: as no whisper of the 'heresy' and other offences imputed to the Templars had ever reached their ears, they have sent to the Seneschal of Gascony for further information. On the 4th December Edward writes to the Kings of Castile, Portugal, Sicily, and Arragon expressing his entire disbelief in the charges brought against the 'distinguished Order of the Temple' and urging the propriety of protecting the brethren. But the Pope had already intervened to determine the action of the King of England. On the 22nd November he had dispatched a Bull to Edward, which must have reached London shortly after the 4th December. In this document Clement informs the King that he had long heard, but discredited, reports unfavourable to the Templars, but that 'his dear son Philip' had been recently assured of their crimes; and that at the requisition of the Inquisitor appointed for his Kingdom by the Holy See Philip had ordered them to be apprehended; that the Grand Master and other brothers

Scepticism in England.

¹ Id. 184, 185.

² See Dawn, 483.

³ Lavissee, sup.

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1307

had made 'a spontaneous confession',¹ as Philip informed him: that he himself had 'personally examined' one brother of high character, who had confessed the abnegation of Christ: he therefore requests the King to make arrangements for the arrest of all the Templars throughout his dominions.²

This testimony was irresistible. When the Vicar of Christ himself entered the witness-box scepticism was silenced. The requisite orders were immediately issued. On the 10th January 1308 all the Templars in England, Ireland and Scotland were consigned to custody.³ The captures were effected as easily and as silently as in France. The clergy, overawed by the Papal authority, and scared out of their wits by the very whisper of 'heresy', accepted the fall of the Order as fully justified.

The war with Scotland went on; but the operations were in fact operations on paper. During the winter of 1307-1308 King Robert was incapacitated by illness

"And thar him tuk ane sic sekness
That put him to full hard distres.
He forbar bath drink and met,
His men na medicine couth get
That evir nicht to the King avale;
His strinth so haly can him fale
That he ne nicht nouthur rid na ga." ⁴

After spending the winter in retreat at Slioch in the Garioch, one of his hereditary possessions,⁵ he descended in the spring (1308) to Inverury. John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and John Mowbray of Methven had a mixed force of Scots and English, not far off, at Old Meldrum. Bruce insisted upon being placed on horseback: fortune favoured

¹ "Spontanee confessit corruptionem erroris abnegationis Xti." When de Molai was publicly confronted with the document circulated as his confession, he denounced it as a forgery. He died at the stake proclaiming the innocence of his Order. See Milm., II. 320, 380, 396.

² Foed. II. 10, 16, 17, 19.

³ Parly. Writs II. ii. 6-8; Ann. Worcester, 560; Heming. II. 279.

⁴ Barbour, Brus, 193; Heming. II. 274. The latter thought that Bruce had taken some poison.

⁵ Barbour, 195 and 517, note. Aberdeenshire, N.E. of Huntly.

him and the English party were scattered.¹ From this time the tide in the fortunes of the Bruce took a decided turn, but the first use he made of his victory was to inflict a savage harrying on the lands of his chief opponent Buchan. For fifty years 'the hership of Buchan' was a household tale of horror.

"Eftir that wele fifty yher
Men menit the herschip of Bouchane."²

The success at Inverury involved the recovery of Aberdeen³ and practically that of the allegiance of the East Highlands North of the Grampians. By June Edward Bruce and James Douglas reconquered Galloway, and in August Bruce avenged himself on the Western Highlanders by defeating the men of Lorn and Argyll, and taking Dunstaffnage Castle.⁴ On the 21st of September the English are again informed by their King that Bruce is on the borders of Northumberland. On the 3rd December the Earl of Gloucester is sent to raise the siege of Rutherglen, near Glasgow.⁵ To make and unmake appointments of commanders was all that Edward could do; to him his own subjects were little less formidable than the Scots.

If Edward I had given to Parliament "more than was consistent with royal despotism" he had also retained in his own hands "more than was consistent with the theory of limited monarchy".⁶ At every point the direct and personal intervention of the monarch was still requisite. Edward II had found a body of able and patriotic advisers round his throne; but their devotion could not make up for his own personal unpopularity.⁷

¹ Lord Hailes, Mr. Tytler, and Mr. Innes give the date of this action as the 22nd May. It was probably in consequence of this reverse that Edward issued the writs of the 21st June.

² Barbour, *Brus*, 199-203; Fordun, I. 344. The district of Buchan is the most northern part of Aberdeenshire.

³ Hailes; *Rot. Scot. I.* 55.

⁴ Fordun, I. 345; Lanercost, 212; Barbour.

⁵ *Parly. Writs*, II. i. 378, 379.

⁶ Bp. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 324.

⁷ As evidence of the spirit and ability of the King's advisers we may take the manly resistance offered to Papal encroachments. We find the government

CHAP. II

1308

At the head of the English baronage stood his cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, also uncle to Queen Isabelle. Grandson of Henry III and great-grandson of Louis VIII, as son of Blanche of Artois, Queen of Navarre and mother of Queen Jeanne of France, he was brother-in-law to Philip the Fair, and uncle to Queen Isabelle. Possessor of the Earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, he was the most powerful man in the Kingdom, surrounded by vassals quite used to defying the Crown. Rough, coarse and brutal, when brought to the test he was destined to prove as incapable of leading the nation as Edward himself. But his wealth, birth and territorial influence enabled him always to block the way, if so disposed. The idea of deposing the King does not appear to have ever entered his mind, the chief aim of his policy being the petty wish to irritate and annoy his cousin. He did not want to dethrone him, only to snub him and "cut him out". Any popular cry would serve his purpose, and in particular the complaint of the feeble policy towards Scotland, by which the great Edward's conquests were being lost. Altogether with Lancaster in opposition "the times were out of joint".

In summoning a Parliament of magnates for the 20th October Edward had to forbid attendance in arms, ordering all to come "in such manner as was wont under the late King". Four times in the year he had to forbid tournaments.¹

Under the existing state of affairs in England Philip began to think that the old Scottish alliance might be worth cultivating. He approached Edward on the subject of a truce, and, at his request, Edward named commissioners to negotiate a "sufferance", not in terms with Bruce, but with 'the people of Scotland' (29 November

resisting the Pope in the matter of Walter Jorz, Archbishop of Armagh, whom Clement pretended to institute to the temporalities of his see without the King; so in the matter of the introduction of Bulls affecting the Crown; and in the matter of Provisions attempted at Worcester and York; and again in matters connected with the Statute of Carlisle. See Foed. II. 3, 7, 10, 13, 20-25, 28, 29.

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 22, 23; Foed. II. 36, 43, 60.

1308).¹ Two days later the Bishop of Glasgow (Robert Wishart) was given up to the Pope: Bishop Lamberton of St. Andrews had been set free in August.² Early in the ensuing year an envoy came over from Paris who was allowed to communicate with Lamberton and "Robert Bruce". But Edward was not prepared to recognize Bruce as King of Scotland and so the proposed truce came to nothing.³

"Such was the state of affairs at the close of the year 1308;" towards Scotland a hesitating policy neither peace nor war: at home no public measures passed, nor any proper Parliament held since October 1307. On the 23rd February 1309, however, the King met a Parliament of Magnates. The result of the meeting was that on the 4th March writs were issued for a full general Parliament to meet at Westminster on the 27th April.⁴ The session was the most important since that held at Lincoln in 1301. The King wanted money and permission to recall Gaveston. The latter request was rejected or ignored.⁵ The demand for a subsidy was answered by the promise of a Twenty-fifth from the laity,⁶ if the King would give a favourable answer to certain articles of petition presented in the name of the whole community (*communalte*).

Parliament.

The King was given time to consider the articles, and it was arranged that he should give in his answers at an adjourned Parliament to be held at Stamford on the 27th July.⁷

The Articles were eleven in number, and the grievances alleged were all infractions of recognized law, and for the most part matters in which the commons were chiefly interested. The first and seventh Articles complained that persons styling themselves King's officers seized

Articles of Petition.

¹ "Les gentz d'Ecosse;" Foed. II. 63.

² Foed. II. 54, 64, 65, 66. Both prelates had been captured in 1306; Dawn, 510.

³ Foed. II. 68, 78, 79.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. i. 24-35.

⁵ Heming. II. 275.

⁶ "The clergy were not asked to contribute, the pope having granted the King a tenth for three years," Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 339; Parly. Writs, II. i. 39.

⁷ Parly. Writs, II. i. 37.

provisions without payment ; and that the ' pernors ' of the King's legitimate ' prises ' took more than was needed for the King's household, disposing of the surplus for their own profit. The answer eventually given by the King to these Articles was that the practices in question were condemned by an Ordinance of his father—viz. the statute of 1300—and that he intended that Ordinance to be kept.¹

The second Article condemned the ' New Customs ' obtained by Edward I in 1303 from the foreign merchants, as having received no Parliamentary sanction. The King agreed to suspend these dues for a time, till he saw how matters went. The fourth, fifth and tenth Articles complained of the unlawful extension of the jurisdictions of the royal officers of state, the Marshal, Steward and Constable. Again the King referred to the Act of 1300 by which these usurpations were condemned. The remaining Articles made complaint of the depreciated state of the currency, and of defects and irregularities in the administration of the law. There was no means of securing attention to petitions presented to the King in Parliament ; suits were delayed by writs of protection, and guilty criminals were allowed to purchase pardon. On all points the King promised substantial redress.²

The Articles, with the above answers to them, were duly published late in July ; while in August a confirmation of the Act of 1300 against Purveyance was issued, and orders given for the collection of the Twenty-fifth.³ The Articles " taken in conjunction with the Bill of twelve Articles presented at Lincoln mark a step in the progress of the commons " .⁴

¹ By ' ancient prisage ' the King was entitled to take a cask of wine from each ship at 20s. the cask, and he was entitled to take as much corn as he needed for his household at 2d. the quarter below the market rate. See 9 Hen. III. s. 19 and Statute Westm. I ; Royal Letters Henry III, V. ii. 95 ; Liber de Antiqq. 39, 52, 103 ; Foed. II. 98.

² See Rot. Parl. I. 443 ; Ann. Lond. 158.

³ August 20-26 ; Statutes, I. 154-156 ; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 22 ; i. 38.

⁴ Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 339.

But the hopes of a lasting settlement had already been dashed by the infatuation of the King. In the interval between the two sessions of Parliament he had recalled Gaveston, receiving his 'brother' at Chester with open arms.¹ The Pope had given the sanction that Parliament withheld. Means had been found of breaking the ranks of the Opposition; Lincoln, Peter's chief opponent in the last year, had been conciliated, and his influence had won over Surrey, who had not 'smiled on Gaveston' since the Wallingford tournament; the Earl of Gloucester stood firmly by his brother-in-law, and on the strength of his influence the King ventured to produce Peter at Stamford.²

The business transacted at Stamford included resolutions for the prosecution of the war against the Scots who had rejected the truce. Writs of military summons were issued for the 29th September.³ But the impertinent behaviour of the favourite towards the magnates again reduced the King to a state of impotence. Peter's lively wit found scope in coining nicknames for his enemies. The Earl of Lancaster was 'The Old Hog'; Pembroke 'The Jew'; Warwick 'The Black Dog of Arden'; while his brother-in-law was stigmatized as 'The Cuckoo's Chick'.⁴ No man could get a word of the King if Gaveston was present; nor get anything out of the King except through Gaveston.⁵ Smarting under these slights the Earls of Lancaster, Lincoln, Warwick, Oxford and Arundel refused to attend a Council at York.⁶ The levies were successively reduced, adjourned and countermanded.⁷ In December the Earl of Gloucester had to inform the King that the

¹ Mon. Malm. 162. Edward was at Chester 27 June-1 July; Itinerary.

² Ann. Lond. 157; Heming. II. 275; Bridlington, 35; Lanercost, 213; Foed. II. 88. Gaveston's marriage to Margaret of Clare was celebrated on his return.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 381.

⁴ Chron. Packington (*temp.* Edw. III), Leland, Coll. II. 461; Lingard, III. 4; Lanercost, 216; Trokelowe, 68; Mon. Malm. 161.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 168. The writers assert with confidence that if Gaveston had behaved suitably towards the men of rank nobody would have quarrelled with him.

⁶ Heming. II. 275.

⁷ Parly. Writs, II. i. 385-392.

Articles granted at Stamford were not being observed, and that the collection of the Twenty-fifth must be suspended.¹

In Scotland the King's officers, though still masters of twenty castles,² found themselves in so helpless a plight that they advised the conclusion of a truce, and the adjournment of active operations till the summer.³ Penniless for all other purposes the King could always find something to give to Gaveston, some possession, some Crown perquisite to alienate.⁴ The Barons resolved to bring him to reason by force, the only argument to which he was amenable. They were doubtless aware that a year before Clement had felt bound to remonstrate—however kindly and gently—with Edward on his conduct towards his barons, and they could not fail to know that the young Queen and her father objected to Gaveston just as much as they did.⁵ A Grand Council had been summoned to London for the 8th February 1310.⁶ In anticipation of this meeting we find the formidable Earl of Lancaster arming the men on his estates. On the 7th February the King warns him and others that they must not come to Parliament in arms; they need fear no disturbance, as the King's safe-conduct protects them, and the Earls of Gloucester, Lincoln, Surrey and Richmond have been appointed to preserve peace and order in London.⁷ Nevertheless the Barons presented themselves in full military array. The King demanded explanations; he was told that his lieges could not consent to meet him if Gaveston were to be present. Gaveston, accordingly, was sent into retirement for the time, and the Council commenced its sittings early in March.⁸

Grand
Council.

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 41; also Id. ii. 22, 25. The Twenty-fifth was collected notwithstanding.

² Among the castles for which provisions are ordered in the course of the year we have Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, Banff, Dirleton, Dunbar, Selkirk, Dalswynton, Lochmaben, Bothwell, &c.; Rot. Scot. II. 63, 80.

³ Rot. Scot. II. 63, 77, 80; Lanercost, 213; Foed. II. 104.

⁴ Id. 86, 98.

⁵ See Foed. II. 54, 71; Trokelowe, 68.

⁶ Parly. Writs, II. i. 41, 42.

⁷ Foed. II. 102, 103.

⁸ Heming. II. 276; Mon. Malm. 162; Ann. Paul. 268.

The Barons opened fire by presenting a petition in which they depicted in gloomy colours the state of the realm, or rather, the state of the King's own position, reduced by 'unsuitable and evil councillors' to 'great discredit throughout the land'; without money for the defence of the country, or even for the support of his household, in spite of the Twentieth and Twenty-fifth granted;¹ and forced to live by extortions forbidden by the Great Charter. They also pointed to Scotland 'as good as lost' (*cum perdue*).² They ended by demanding the appointment of a Committee of 'the Baronage' to frame Ordinances of Reform.

Reforming
Com-
mittee.

The Barons were evidently following the precedents of 1258. But in truth there was no real parallel between the two situations. In 1258 England was almost in a state of dissolution; discontent pervaded every class: men and beasts were succumbing to famine and pestilence: there was war with Wales, supported by a threatening Scottish alliance; while England was being drained of its resources for Papal schemes rejected by the nation. In 1310 the price of wheat, no doubt, was high, and had been high for two or three years;³ and the winter had been a severe one.⁴ But we do not hear of actual dearth; while Wales was now incorporated, and Scotland crushed and helpless. The King's action had been weak and irritating; but in fact there was nothing really wrong in the country but the temper of the offended magnates, and their action was seemingly inspired more by pique than by constitutional zeal.

Edward, however, was powerless to resist. On the 16th March he authorized the Barons to appoint such persons as they might think fit to regulate the state of the royal

King
consents.

¹ The wardrobe accounts for the early years of the reign are wanting, so that the truth of this allegation cannot be tested; but the revenue, so far as shown by the Pell Rolls, was ample, much larger than that of the early years of his father's reign. See Table B below. The Household expenditure of later years was moderate.

² "Vous estes par noun covenable consail et malveis . . . mys et cheyn en grant esclandre en totez terres;" Ann. Lond. 168; Liber Custumarum, 198 (Riley).

³ Rogers, Prices, I. 196, 228.

⁴ Ann. Lond. 138.

Household and the realm.¹ The persons so appointed would retain their authority till Michaelmas in the ensuing year (1311), the King undertaking that whatever they might ordain should be 'held and observed in all points', provided that such ordinances were made 'to the honour of God, and the honour and profit of the church, the King and the people, according to right and reason, and the oath we took at our coronation'.²

The Barons had evidently taken their stand on the new clause in the coronation oath.³ On the 17th March the assembled magnates sealed letters patent declaring that the election of the Ordainers should not be treated as a precedent, nor be turned in any way to the disadvantage of the King or of his heirs.⁴

Interim
Ordi-
nances.

On the 19th March the Barons, apparently without waiting for the election of the Ordainers, issued further Ordinances, providing that six of their number should sit in London as a standing committee; forbidding all alienation of crown property without their sanction; requiring the issues and profits of the realm to be paid directly into the Exchequer, 'for the profit of the King, and the maintenance of his household, so that he may live off his own, without taking prises, other than those due and accustomed, and that all others do cease.' The foreign merchants, by whom, as under the late reign, the Customs had ostensibly been received, are ordered to be apprehended until they have given in their accounts. The jealousy of foreigners is further shown by a provision requiring the Customs in future to be collected by natives.⁵

The Barons were quite right in forbidding the mischievous system of 'assignments'; but in other respects they were not quite posted up in the state of public affairs. As early as the 18th December 1307 the Treasurer had been in-

¹ "Pur ordener et establir l'estat de nostre hotel et de nostre roiaume."

² Foed. II. 105; Rot. Parl. I. 445; cf. Heming. II. 276.

³ So too remarks Mon. Malm. 163.

⁴ Rot. Parl. I. 443; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 26, 27.

⁵ 19 March, Ann. Lond. 172, 173; confirmed by the King, 2 August, Foed. II. 113.

structed to audit the accounts of the Frescobaldi,¹ while the reader has been informed that the actual collection of the Customs was always in the hands of natives.

On the 20th March the Ordainers were finally elected, and sworn in; the latter ceremony taking place in the Painted Chamber at Westminster. The election was conducted on an indirect plan, similar to that adopted in 1258. The prelates elected two earls; the earls elected two bishops; and the four so elected chose two barons; the six then added by co-optation fifteen others, making a total of twenty-one.² These were Archbishop Winchelsey; the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, St. Davids and Llandaff; ³ the Earls of Lancaster, Gloucester, Lincoln, Hereford, Warwick, Pembroke, Richmond and Arundel; Hugh de Vere, and the Barons William Marshal of Hengham, John Grey de Wilton, Robert Fitz Roger, Hugh of Courtenay, and William Martin of Kemys.⁴ Conspicuous by his absence was Hugh le Despenser, banished from Court in 1308.

Appoint-
ment of
Ordainers.

Of these Ordainers the Chancellor (Chichester), Lincoln, Gloucester and Richmond (John of Brittany) represented the King's party. Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick, Arundel and Pembroke belonged to the opposition, Pembroke, the Poitevin, being especially bitter against the Gascon Peter.⁵ Marshal was a follower of Lancaster; Martin and Courtenay probably belonged to the Royal party.⁶

The war
with Scot-
land.

The sittings of the Council over, the King turned his

¹ Cal. Pat. Roll, I. 28. As the result of this audit sums due to the amount of £118,000 were paid to the Frescobaldi; Archaeol. XXVIII. 207.

² Parly. Writs, sup.

³ The Bishop of London was Ralph Baldock, the ex-chancellor; Salisbury was Simon of Ghent, consecrated in 1297; Chichester was the Chancellor, John Langton, consecrated in 1305; Norwich was John Salmon, consecrated in 1299; St. Davids was David Martin, consecrated in 1296, while John of Monmouth, consecrated in 1297, filled the See of Llandaff. Reg. Sacrum.

⁴ Parly. Writs, sup. Cf. Ann. Lond. 172, where only five barons are named, with Clifford instead of Fitz Roger.

⁵ Trokelowe, 74.

⁶ "Martin was father of the second wife of Henry de Lacy; Courtenay was brother-in-law to Hugh le Despenser;" Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 343, citing Mon. Malm. 162; Trevet, Cont. 8.

CHAP. II

1310

attention to the war with Scotland. Bishop Lamberton (*more suo*) had requited Edward's confidence by holding a Synod of the Scottish Church, in which the clergy pledged themselves to support Bruce as 'the true heir to the throne'.¹ Writs were issued for a general muster at Berwick on the 8th September; tournaments were again specially forbidden, and the usual orders given for raising men in Wales, and bringing provisions over from Ireland, together with the necessary sea-transport.²

On the 2nd August, as already mentioned, the King published his ratification of the provisional Ordinances, with a saving clause to prevent mistakes, reserving the legitimate Customs on wool, wool fells and leather, with which the Stamford Articles had not affected to meddle.³ That was all right; but at the same time he writes to the collectors at the seaports that the collection of the *Nova Custuma* must be continued. The impost had been suspended at the request of the Stamford Parliament, as an experiment; but the King is now satisfied that neither he nor his people have derived any benefit from the suspension; the prices of commodities are as high as ever.⁴

Edward
and the
Ordainers.

In connexion with Edward's attitude towards the Ordinances and the Ordainers we may point out that in May he had taken the Seal from Langton, an Ordainer, and given it to his creature Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester,⁵ while John Sandale replaced Reynolds as Treasurer. No consent of the Ordainers was asked for either appointment: the King was also borrowing money and disposing of crown property as he pleased.⁶ In consequence Winchelsey

¹ Dundee, 24 February 1310; Scottish Acts, I. 100 (ed. Thomson); Wilkins, Conc. II. 302, from Anderson's Independence of Scotland, Append. 12. The names of the parties to the declaration are not there given, but an earlier document, "almost in the same words," gives the names of twelve bishops, beginning with that of Lamberton; Hailes, citing Anderson, Append. 14.

² 5,000 footmen were to be raised in Wales, with about 1,000 from England, 9th April-18th July; Parly. Writs, II. i. 393, &c.; ii. 28; Foed. II. 106-109; Rot. Scot. I. 82-87.

³ Foed. 113.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 30.

⁵ Consecrated 13 October 1308; Reg. Sacrum.

⁶ See Foed. 110-125. Reynolds and Sandale were appointed 6 July.

in the autumn thought it necessary to preach strongly to the people in London on the duty of supporting the Ordainers, denouncing an excommunication against all who should resist their authority.¹ But with the Great Seal in his hands the King was master of the situation ; and so we shall find him throughout.

On the 10th September and following days the King's levies were mustered at Tweedmouth by Bartholomew of Badlesmere, *locum tenens* for the Constable,² assisted by Nicholas Segrave—the man driven from court by the Barons—as Marshal of the army. The post of course by hereditary right belonged to Hereford. 5,000 footmen from Wales had been ordered, with about 1,000 from England. The military tenants, clerical and lay, proffered 236 knights' fees in all ; of which 51 were represented by an equal number of fully equipped men-at-arms with two barded horses each ; the remaining 185 fees being cleared by the production of 370 *servientes* with one, mostly barded, horse each, or 421 mounted men all told.³ All the Earls had been summoned, but only Gloucester and Surrey condescended to appear in person. Lincoln had been appointed Regent by the King⁴—another act of doubtful legality—and had to remain in the South ; while the other Earls found in Gaveston's presence a sufficient reason for discharging their duties by deputy.⁵ On the 16th September Edward crossed the Border, resting at Roxburgh Castle. On the 21st he plunged into the Forest of Selkirk, " a region which would have proved exceedingly dangerous, had there been any enemies to oppose him." On the 29th of the month he emerged at Biggar ; on the 12th October he signs at Lanark ; on the 23rd he reached Linlithgow ; and on the 1st November he returned to Berwick, content there to remain inactive till the end of the ensuing month of June.⁶

¹ November ; Heming. II. 278.

² Roger Bigod died in 1306, and his honours had fallen to the King's brother Thomas, who was under age ; Foed. III.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 44-57. The tenants summoned numbered 175.

⁴ Foed. 116.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 164 ; Heming. II. 277.

⁶ Itinerary,

CHAP. II

1310

Throughout the campaign Bruce, true to his tactics, had kept carefully out of reach, leaving the famine-stricken land to protect itself. But we learn from Edward's own proclamations that Bruce was preparing to attack the Isle of Man, and that horses, arms and provisions were being sent to him from friends in England.¹

¹ Foed. II. 120, 122.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1308-1313

Proceedings against the Templars in England.—First application of Torture in England.—Dissolution of the Order.—Council of Vienne.—Parliament.—The Ordinances.—Murder of Gaveston.—Breach between King and Barons.

ON Sunday, 7th February 1311,¹ Henry de Lacy was gathered to his fathers; to the King the loss of a friend; while he had the further grief of seeing two additional Earldoms, namely Lincoln and Salisbury,² pass into the hands of his chief opponent, Thomas of Lancaster, who now succeeded to these in right of his wife Alice, heiress both of her father's and her mother's rights. The render of homage for the new possessions involved a curious struggle. The King being at Berwick, the Earl had to go to the Border. He went with an imposing retinue. But he refused to cross the Tweed, or to do homage outside of England. Edward was indignant, but, Thomas standing on his rights, he had to come to Haggerston, six or seven miles from Berwick, and receive the recognition there. Gaveston was present, but the Earl would not speak to him.³ The Regency held by Lincoln was conferred on Gloucester,⁴ the King being still in the North. On the 3rd March the late King's invaluable factotum, Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, passed away at Eltham.⁵ His loss again, as that of one who might have mediated between the King and the Barons,

CHAP. III

1311

Death of
Earl of
Lincoln.

¹ So Ann. Lond. 175. The Pauline Annals, 269, give the 6th February, and Doyle and G. E. C. the 5th February.

² De Lacy had held the Earldom of Salisbury in right of his first wife, Margaret, heiress of William Longsword II, Earl of Salisbury.

³ Lanercost, 215.

⁴ Foed. II. 129.

⁵ Reg. Sacrum; Ann. Lond. 176.

CHAP. III

1311

was severely felt.¹ The King laid hands on the goods both of the Bishop and the Earl. Those of the former, however, had to be restored to his executors.²

In his retirement at Berwick Edward was busy devising plans for raising money. We hear of contributions kindly granted by individuals, clerks and laymen, in Norfolk and Suffolk. On the 14th April the King writes to Archbishop Winchelsey, begging him to obtain from Convocation a grant of 12*d.* on the mark of spiritualities.³ A fortnight later Ingelard of Warle, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, is instructed to 'confer' with divers towns and monasteries on matters relating to the King and the war against Scotland.⁴ The King trusts for favourable answers. These were old and approved modes of raising money: the next measure had an element of novelty in it. Under the late reign the men raised under commissions of array had always been paid and maintained by the King. Edward now writes to the sheriffs that it might suit the counties better if each township were to equip, and maintain at their own expense, one stout serviceable foot-soldier for seven weeks' service in Scotland, instead of providing a larger number at the King's expense.⁵

The King's financial endeavours were rewarded with a moderate, but only a moderate, amount of success. The attempt to raise an army failed utterly. Abandoning for the time his schemes against Scotland, Edward submitted to summon a full general Parliament to meet in London on the 8th August.⁶

While the King was at Berwick the case of the English

¹ See Bridlington, 38, where an interesting account of the Bishop's mediation between Edward I and his Barons in 1297 is given.

² Foed. II. 128, 129, 134.

³ Id. 132. The Northern clergy at first refused. But in October the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham agreed to a private levy of 10*d.* on the £1 for defence against the Scots. Reg. Pal. Dunelm. I. 6, 97 (Rolls Series, No. 62). The general accounts of the year are wanting, so that we cannot tell whether the revenue was below the mark or not, but the expenses of the campaign would be heavy.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 35, 36.

⁵ Id. i. 408-410.

⁶ 16th June. Ibid. ii. 37; Mon. Malm. 112. "Rex igitur licet quodammodo invite venit Londonias;" Lanercost, 216.

Templars was finally disposed of. They had been kept in strict custody since January 1308. English opinion was much divided on the subject, but Philip and Clement kept the clergy up to the mark, and Edward showed no further disposition to shield the Order. The Pope had summoned an Oecumenical Council to meet at Vienne, to decide on the ultimate fate of the Order, the sittings being eventually fixed for the month of October 1311. Clement required to be provided with evidence from Great Britain and Ireland as well as from other countries. In the autumn of 1309 inquiries were undertaken by his directions in London and elsewhere. The Abbot of Lagny and Sicard de Vaur were deputed to assist as Inquisitors.¹ The sittings in London began on the 21st October 1309 and lasted on till March 1310. Forty-seven brethren, some of them Templars of forty years' standing, were examined on eighty-seven interrogatories sent over from France. Not a syllable in support of any one charge was extracted from them.² Everything was stoutly denied. Further interrogatories were exhibited from time to time, without better results. Extra-mural witnesses, not of the Order, were then called in. One man, and one man only, deposed to an act of overt guilt against Guy Forest, Grand Master of England. The Report,³ drawn up by the commission in June 1310, amounted to a complete acquittal of the Order on all the main points. The only damaging facts which the Inquisitors could claim to have established were that the chapters were held in secret, and that lay Grand Masters and Preceptors were in the habit of granting absolution to brethren.⁴ Besides the depositions of the primary witnesses, a mass of loose, irrelevant hearsay evidence was published, but the commissioners, to their credit, do not appear to have laid any stress on this testimony.⁵ Similar

Interrogatories.

Charges repelled.

¹ See Foed. II. 55, 88, 90, 91, 93, 94; Wilkins, Conc. II. 304, 309; Northern Registers, 194.

² See Conc. II. 331-346. The Bishops of London and Chichester presided.

³ Ibid. 347-356. The charge against Forest is given at p. 348.

⁴ Ibid. 358. The latter charge was not fully admitted.

⁵ Ibid. 358-365. See also Milman.

CHAP. III

1310

Question
of torture.

Solution.

inquiries were held at Lincoln, York, Dublin, and Edinburgh; with like results. All examined denied the whole as firmly as those arraigned in London.¹ The reports of the commissioners were laid before Provincial Synods held at York and in London in May and September 1310. Archbishop Grenefield submitted a paper of questions to his clergy for their consideration, and then adjourned them for a year. The most interesting points are those touching the propriety of having recourse to torture, confessedly till then unheard of in England.² 'Must recourse be had to torture if the Templars will not otherwise confess? Granting that proper agents and appliances are not to be found in England,' asks the Archbishop, 'must the bishops import these from abroad to clear themselves of the imputation of negligence?'³ A question so put carried its own answer with it. The adjourned Synod of the Northern Province met early in June 1311 and sat till the end of July in troubled debate. The Pope's testimony was before them and could not well be disregarded: yet the Templars examined in England had confessed nothing. The clergy were divided and perplexed; but there is nothing to show that they appealed to the rack for a solution of their doubts. The end of it was that the Northern clergy adopted a scheme which had been devised by the Canterbury Synod sitting at the same time. The proposal was in fact a compromise intended to give the Templars as much relief as could be given without impugning the credit of the Pope. They were required to sign a paper admitting that they had been grievously accused⁴ by Clement, and that they could not clear themselves from his charges. They were further required to abjure all heresy and to beg for absolution as penitents.

¹ December 1309-May 1310; Conc. II. 365-383. Cf. T. Stubbs, *Decem Script. 1730*, who sums up the proceedings by stating that nothing substantial could be elicited. In Scotland only two brethren altogether were found.

² "Licet hoc in regno Angliæ nusquam visum fuerit vel auditum." Ibid.; Heming, II. 287.

³ Heming. sup. Cf. Conc. II. 394.

⁴ "Se valde diffamatos esse."

On these terms they would be relieved from further molestation. The offer was accepted: the required declarations were taken, and the northern Templars were forthwith distributed among the monasteries of the Province.¹

Archbishop Winchelsey and his clergy showed themselves less fastidious in their choice of means for ascertaining the truth. Perhaps they were more amenable to Continental influences. At the outset of the inquiry they had applied for and obtained from the King leave to proceed against the Templars according to ecclesiastical Constitutions, and Edward had given every facility for applying 'The Question' as it was termed.² In September 1310, when the Canterbury Synod received the first reports of the commissioners, it was agreed that the Templars should be examined again, singly and separately, and that if they still persisted in denying 'the truth' then that 'the Question' should be applied, provided always that such application should not involve 'mutilation, or permanent injury to limb, or violent effusion of blood'.³

The milder treatment having again been tried without success, it would seem that eventually in June 1311 the 'Question' was finally applied, and that in consequence three substantial confessions were obtained. On the 23rd of that month Stephen Stapelbridge, described on the record as 'an absconded apostate',⁴ confessed everything. 'There were two forms of initiation, one lawful and good; the other impious and heretical.' He had been admitted according to both forms; at the latter initiation Brian de Jay, late Grand Preceptor of England, had presided; he had compelled the witness to abjure Christ and His mother Mary, and to spit upon the Crucifix. Thomas Thorold,

Con-
fessions
extorted.

¹ 9th June-30th July; Conc. II. 394-400. Fourpence a day was allowed by the King to each Templar out of their confiscated estates; Foed. II. 169.

² Conc. II. 413, 414; Foed. II. 104. "Quod iidem praelati et Inquisitores de Templariis et eorum corporibus ordinent et faciant, quotiens voluerint." Id., also especially p. 119: "corpora Templariorum in questionibus et aliis ad hoc convenientibus ponere"; "ad veritatem super crimine haeresis eliciendam," &c.

³ "Ita quod questiones illae fierent absque mutilatione et debilitatione perpetua alicuius membri, et sine violenta effusione sanguinis;" Conc. II. 314.

⁴ "Apostata fugitivus;" Conc.

CHAP. III

1311

surnamed "Tocci", was one of those present on the occasion. The unfortunate creature ended by falling on his knees and howling for mercy. He would submit to any penance; torture he did not mind; all that he cared for was the salvation of his soul.¹

Two days later "Tocci" was brought up. He also was an 'apostate' brother. He had been already examined at Lincoln; had denied everything, and then absconded.² When re-examined on the 26th June he again denied all personal knowledge of the alleged malpractices; he knew of but one form of initiation; but he was aware that some brothers had confessed; he had been present at Rome when some confessions had been made; he had fled from Lincoln in fear for his life, and because the Abbot of Lagny, one of the Inquisitors, had sworn that he would make him confess.³ On the 29th June the unfortunate Templar was again brought before the Bishops of London and Chichester: what had occurred in the interval does not transpire, but the witness now admitted that at his initiation Guy Forest had taken him into a private room and required him to abjure Christ and the Virgin, and to spit upon the Crucifix; he believed that requirement to be customary; it had been established in England for fifty or sixty years.⁴

The third approver was John Stoke; his case stands on all fours with those of the two others. He had been fully examined before, and had confessed nothing. On the 1st July he was induced to admit that after his formal initiation in a Chapter of the Order he had been compelled to abjure in private. The man who compelled him was the existing Grand Master of the Order, Jacques de Molai. De Molai had assured him that all Templars did so. Like Stapelbridge this witness broke down at the end of his interrogatory.⁵ The three were then brought before the Archbishop and the Synod and were made to repeat their

¹ "Dicendo se non de morte corporis nec de aliquo tormento curare," &c. The words strongly suggest that torture had been either applied or threatened; Conc. II. 383, 384.

² Ibid. 367, 384; April 1310.

⁴ Ibid. 384-386.

³ 25th and 26th June.

⁵ Conc. II. 387, 388.

confessions in public: absolution was awarded to them, subject to due penance, and the compromise described above was produced. Within a few days the Templars in London subscribed the required declaration and were absolved—all but the Grand Preceptor William de la More: he refused to admit that any charges had been brought against him of which he could not clear himself. His case was remitted to the Pope.¹

CHAP. III

1311

End of
Proceed-
ings.

At Vienne Clement V found himself in difficulties (October 1311). He could only reckon on the support of the French clergy. The bishops of Germany, Arragon, Castile and Italy, 'who had mostly acquitted the Templars in their diocesan assemblies,' were inclined to demand a formal inquiry. Nine Templars suddenly appeared to defend the Order. Clement sent them to prison without listening to them. Philip's advisers then saw that it was time to apply the *ultima ratio* of force. He assembled an army at Lyons—recently added to his dominions—came to Vienne, and took his seat beside the Pope. Encouraged by this support Clement published the Bull *Vox in excelso*, drawn up in concert with Philip's agents (3 April 1312). Admitting that he had nothing to justify a 'canonical condemnation' of the Order, Clement nevertheless took it on himself to suppress it as undefended, not by 'definitive' sentence, but by 'provisional' or 'Apostolic' regulation. 'So perished the Order of the Temple, suppressed, but not condemned; strangled an unresisting victim.'²

Council of
Vienne.

At the end of July Edward at last left Berwick, reaching Westminster on the 13th August. Gaveston, out of regard for his safety, had been left at Bamborough. On the 16th of the month Parliament was opened at Blackfriars, the King taking up his quarters with the Preachers. Disturbances had been feared in the known state of politics, and arrangements made by the civic authorities for keeping the City gates by day and night.³ Edward so far had

Parlia-
ment.

¹ Ibid. 388-393; 5-13 July. See also the report Ann. Lond. 176-198.

² Lavissee, III. 197.

³ Itinerary; Mon. Malm. 170; Murimuth, 14; Liber de Ant. 251.

CHAP. III systematically ignored his Patent of the 16th March

1311

Fresh
Articles.

1310, and the provisional Ordinances based thereon. The Barons were determined that their powers should be renewed and enforced; and they were equally determined that Gaveston should go. The Articles of the previous year were reproduced for the King's acceptance, with a long string of fresh Articles, "conceived in the same spirit but of a more stringent character." Edward struggled hard and long to retain both his prerogative and his friend; ultimately in the face of civil war he had to surrender both. On the 27th September Archbishop Winchelsey and the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick and Pembroke published their amended scheme at the Cross of St. Paul's: on the 5th October the Earl of Gloucester and Hugh le Despenser announced to the people that the King had accepted it; on the 11th October the Great Seal was finally affixed.¹

Like most mediaeval legislation the Ordinances present a curious jumble of matters dealt with. Many of the articles simply redemand the enforcement of established law, condemning practices of admitted illegality; others aim at high-flown schemes of reform quite beyond the age; others again come down to personal questions and matters of mere detail. The first six Articles are a simple but emphatic iteration of the former Articles, 'and we ordain them to be held and observed.'² The seventh Article annuls the alienations of crown property made since the promulgation of the former scheme: the ninth forbids the King to leave the realm, or to engage in operations of war, without the consent of the Barons in Parliament. In case of the King's lawful absence, a Regent to be appointed by the Barons. The tenth Article insists that the King shall abstain from all 'prises' 'other than the ancient prises due and of right accustomed'; no goods to be taken for the King's use except for full payment, as provided by the Great Charter. The eleventh Article entirely abrogate

¹ Mon. Malm. 171; Rot. Parl. I. 281-286; Statutes, I. 157; see also further demands, Ann. Lond. 198.

² "Ordenons que soient tenus et gardees," &c.

the *Nova Custuma* as having been imposed without due Parliamentary sanction, and so contrary to *Magna Carta*.¹ Articles 13-16 require the King to consult the Baronage in the choice of all his chief Ministers and Officers, including the two Chief Justices and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. This claim had been advanced for the first time in 1244 and again in 1301, and resisted both times. The 17th and 18th Articles deal with fresh grievances, providing for inquiry into individual cases of wrongdoing, and requiring Forest officials to be removable for misconduct. The 20th, a long Article, is devoted to Peter Gaveston. He is taxed with having organized a gigantic faction for the exercise of illegal and unconstitutional influence; already banished twice, he has twice been recalled without proper leave; he has turned the hearts of the people from their King; he must leave England by the Feast of All Saints, never again to set foot within the King's dominions.

Under the 22nd and 23rd clauses Henry of Beaumont is banished from Court for having obtained from the King a grant of the Kingdom of Man with other excessive benefactions, his sister Lady de Vescy also to go into retirement. From the 24th clause we learn the nature of the complaints so often raised against the courts of the Constable and Marshal. Instituted with jurisdictions to be exercised within the Verge, i.e. a distance of a league from the King's residence for the time being, for the settlement of disputes among menials, and the maintenance of order in the turbulent mob usually attendant on the court, they had arrogated to themselves the right of hearing causes appertaining to the courts of Common Law, such as pleas of freeholds, and actions of debt, contract or covenant. These usurpations are strictly forbidden for the future. On the other hand the appointment of sheriffs, which had been given by Edward I to the counties, was now restored to the Crown (s. 17).²

Courts of
The Verge
and Mar-
shalsea.

¹ A further Ordinance to this effect was published 9 October; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 43. The levy had ceased 6 October.

² See Rot. Parl. I. 281-286; Statutes, I. 157-167.

On the whole the new Ordinances, with a certain amount of give and take, were in some respects in advance of the times, and in some respects behind them. The abrogation of the *Nova Custuma*, though technically defensible, was an unkind cut, quite uncalled for; on the other hand we find even less provision for action by "*le commun*" than in the Provisions of Oxford.¹ The rights of the nation are left under the sole guardianship of the Barons. No such settlement could be lasting. England had outgrown feudal government as much as personal government; and, strange to say, the neglect of any provision for action on the part of the commons "actually furnished the plea for the reversal of the Ordinances by the hands of the Despensers". But again the restrictions on the King's power of leaving the country or declaring war go beyond the requirements of the present day.

On the 8th October the weary Parliament was prorogued. The illegal Customs had already been dropped; the improper grants were revoked, and copies of the Ordinances distributed. The Chancellor, Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, was dismissed, and the office put into commission. The Treasurer, John Sandale, likewise was turned out of office.² Probably the King and the Barons were unable to agree upon permanent appointments. Gaveston was brought to London under safe escort, and sent by water down the Thames to the King's brother-in-law in Brabant, the ports of France not being open to him. In less than two months' time he was back again.³

In the first week of January 1312 Edward slipped away to the North.⁴ He complained, naturally enough, of the bondage in which the Barons would keep him; and the removal of all his personal friends and adherents.⁵ On

¹ See Dawn of Constitution, 172.

² Parly. Writs, II. ii. 43; Foed. II. 145, 146; Foss, III. 183, 184.

³ Foed. II. 143, 144; Ann. Lond. 202; Ann. Paul. 271; Trokelowe, 68; Lanercost, 217.

⁴ Edward was at York 18th January, and stayed there till the 8th April, when he moved to Darlington. Itinerary.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 174.

the 7th January the Keepers were ordered to bring the Seal to York. On the 18th the King announced that the 'good and loyal' Peter Gaveston, exiled in violation of the laws of the land—which the King was sworn to maintain—had been recalled by his orders; on the 20th of the month Gaveston's estates were once more restored; while a general Parliament that had been summoned for the 13th February was countermanded.¹ The King's infatuation in recalling Gaveston seems extraordinary, as we are told that he was puzzled where to put him out of harm's way; not a place seemed safe in England, Ireland, Wales, Gascony or France. In his extremity he applied to Bruce, offering a truce as the price of a refuge for Peter. But King Robert thought so little of Edward's position that he declined to enter into any engagements with him.²

The King
recalci-
trant.

The recall of Gaveston was accepted by the Barons as "a declaration of war". The King had already proclaimed a virtual state of siege in London by ordering the city to be armed and guarded on his behalf.³ But by way of explaining his position to the nation, he announced that he intended to observe and enforce the old 'laws and customs' of the realm; and also such of the recent Ordinances as were not 'prejudicial' to the Crown. Following up this idea he named a commission to treat with the

¹ Foed. II. 153, 154; Parly. Writs, I. i. 77, 79. The officials again took care to disclaim all responsibility. "Fet a remembrer que la dite forme fu fete par le Roi meismes;" Foed. sup.

Public opinion as voiced by ballad song showed no sympathy for the King.

"The charter of the Kings word is made of wax;

It was holde to neih the fire, and is molten all away

I understond.

Ne may no King wel ben in londe

Under God almihte

But he cunne himself rede

Hou he shall in londe lede

Everi man wid rihte."

Pol. Songs, 253, 254 (Wright, Rolls Series, No. 14).

² Mon. Malm. 174, 175; Foed. 155; Bruce's Queen was brought to Windsor from Holderness, where she had been kept as a prisoner.

³ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 44; Ann. Lond. 203.

CHAP. III

1312

Barons¹ for a modification of the Ordinances; while to inspire confidence he fully reinstated Walter Langton, and reappointed him to the Treasury.²

The Barons
arming.

The proposal for a modification of the Ordinances was received with scorn. Winchelsey excommunicated both Peter and Langton,³ while the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Arundel, Warwick and Pembroke met at St. Paul's, and adopted a resolution to the effect that so long as Gaveston was alive and in England the country could have neither peace nor rest. They took their measures very craftily, dividing their forces, allotting districts to each other, and proclaiming tournaments, in order to mask their purpose of a concentration which they intended to effect in the North. Gloucester was sent into Kent, well out of the way.⁴ The Opposition were thus masters of the country. For troops to face them the King had to write to Gascony; ⁵ while for the support of his household he had to plunder right and left.⁶

Leaving York the King retired to Newcastle (11th April). There he was left in peace for three weeks. But on the afternoon of the 4th May Lancaster burst into the city, and almost surprised King, Queen and Gaveston, who had just managed to escape to Tynemouth in the forenoon. They had retained their hold of the Seal,⁷ but had to leave horses, jewels and personal effects behind them. Next day Edward, beside himself with rage,⁸ took ship for Scarborough, with Peter, leaving the Queen, who was expecting her confinement, behind him. Having deposited Peter in fancied security within the walls of Scarborough, he went off to Knaresborough and York, endeavouring to raise

¹ Edward's commissioners included John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, John of Cromwell, Hugh of Audley, Henry le Scrope, William D'Eyncourt, &c.; Foed. 159.

² Foed. 154, 156, 158, 159. January–March.

³ Mon. Malm. 175; Murimuth, 18 (Rolls Series No. 93); Foed. 167.

⁴ Mon. Malm. sup.; Ann. Lond. 203, 204.

Foed. 163.

⁶ "Patriam vastaverunt, quia non habuerunt quid solverent pro expensis;" Lanercost, 218.

⁷ Parly. Writs, II. i. 84; Foed.

⁸ "Rex quasi fremens."

men for the relief of Scarborough. He had taken up his quarters at York on the 16th May;¹ but Lancaster in force blocked the way to the besieged city.² Three days later the hapless Gaveston was forced to surrender, and place himself in the hands of Pembroke, Surrey and Henry Percy, under the terms of a very complicated convention. The three pledged themselves on the Eucharist to produce their captive safe and sound as against all men in York Minster by the 1st of August; he would be brought to the presence of the King and Lancaster, to abide the decision of Parliament. Failing any agreement between the parties as to Gaveston's future, the barons would be bound under penalty of utter forfeiture to the King to replace him within the walls of Scarborough; the fortress in the meantime to be allowed to remain *in statu quo*, with all its fortifications, munitions and stores, the garrison moreover being free to introduce supplies.³

Pembroke and Percy moved southwards by easy stages with their captive, intending to place him for safety in his own castle at Wallingford.⁴ On the evening of Friday 9th June the party rested at Deddington in Oxfordshire, between Banbury and Chipping Norton. Aylmer left Gaveston under an insufficient guard in the house of the rector of the parish, himself going off to visit his wife at a manor house of his at Brampton in Northants.⁵ Warwick, who must have been watching his prey, appeared early in the morning with a powerful following, seized Peter in bed, and carried him off to Warwick. The Black Dog had vowed to make Peter feel his teeth. Pembroke hastened to intervene, but he failed to get any support, even Gloucester now refusing to exert himself on behalf of his brother-in-law.⁶ An appeal to the University of Oxford for a public protest

but seized,
carried off,

¹ Ann. Lond. 204; Trokelowe, 75; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 50.

² Mon. Malm. 176.

³ 19 May; Ann. Lond. 204-206; Mon. Malm. 177.

⁴ Trokelowe, 76.

⁵ Pembroke afterwards charged Percy with the blame of Gaveston's capture; Foed. 173. Percy's estates were confiscated on that ground.

⁶ Ann. Lond. 206, 207; Mon. Malm. 177, 178; Murimuth, 17.

CHAP. III

1312

and put
to death.

failed equally; neither clergy nor townsfolk caring to intervene. Peter's fate was settled in private conclave between Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick. On the 19th June the latter, as if to wash his hands of further complicity in the matter, handed over Gaveston to the others, who took him to Blacklow Hill, an eminence on the road to Kenilworth, a mile and a half from Warwick. There they delivered him to a couple of Welshmen, who cut off his head without any form of trial.¹ Lancaster and Hereford witnessed the deed; Warwick stayed at home. Four worthy shoemakers carried the body to Warwick on a ladder, for burial. But the Earl would not allow the corpse to rest on his land, and it was taken back to the spot from which it had been removed, there to lie till some Oxford Dominicans (*Fratres Jacobini*) took it to Oxford. There it lay for a couple of years, when the King removed it to a new Dominican foundation established by him at King's Langley, in memory of his friend.²

Reaction.

This gross deed of blood compromised the whole future course of the reign, placing an impassable gulf between the King and Lancaster. In its ulterior consequences "it was the first drop of the deluge which within a century and a half carried away nearly all the ancient baronage, and a great proportion of the royal race of England".³ But the nation at the time had no misgivings. Gaveston's fate was hailed with ferocious joy.⁴ Nevertheless the King's hands for the time were distinctly strengthened. Pembroke and Surrey, indignant at the reflections brought on their honour, joined him at once. Leaving York on the 1st July, on the 15th of the month Edward entered London,

¹ Bridlington, 43, asserts that a form of trial was gone through before William Inge and Henry Spigurnel, justices of jail delivery sitting at Warwick. Both at the time held commissions, not of jail delivery, but for trial of special cases, not at Warwick, but in Leicestershire and Notts. See Cal. Pat. Roll, I. 476, 477.

² Mon. Malm. 179, 180; Ann. Lond. 207; Bridlington, 44; Trokelowe and Murimuth, sup.; Ann. Paul. 273.

³ Bp. Stubbs, sup. 332.

⁴ "Laetata est terra, gavisi sunt omnes;" Mon. Malm. 181, a writer inclined to moralize. So too, however, Pol. Songs; "Sit Benedicta framea, Quae Petrum sic aggreditur," 258, 259.

riding from Waltham through the city to Westminster. The Mayor and leading citizens were summoned to meet the King in person at Blackfriars, and asked if they were prepared to hold the city on his behalf. Favourable answers having been received,¹ the King on the 18th attended a folksmote at the Cross of St. Paul's, when the allegiance of all classes was secured.² Proclamations were then issued forbidding 'conventicles' in arms, and ordering all royal castles and borough towns to be held on his, the King's, account.³ His inclinations were altogether in favour of having recourse to arms, and men were found rash enough to encourage him in his madness.⁴ He issued writs for raising forces in the counties, and himself went down to Kent (August 3-20), and collected some men among the Cinque Ports.⁵ A full general Parliament that had been summoned to meet at Lincoln on the 23rd July was postponed to the 20th August, to meet at Westminster.⁶ The confederate Earls Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick and Arundel came forward in overwhelming strength, and took up a position at Ware.⁷ Edward, while still himself endeavouring to raise men, invited the Earls to appear before him unarmed, to discuss a revision of the Ordinances; the invitation not being accepted, Edward adjourned the Parliament to the 30th September.⁸

Gloucester now came forward to act as mediator, the bishops supporting him; the King's circle, realizing the personal risks involved in hostilities with the Earls, began to favour peaceful methods.⁹ For help in the work of negotiation application was made to the Court of Paris;¹⁰ and at Edward's request Arnaud, Cardinal of St. Prisca, and another Arnaud, Bishop of Poitiers, came over, to be shortly followed by Louis of Evreux.¹¹ In their train they

¹ Ann. Lond. 208; and for the date, the Itinerary.

² Liber de Ant. 46.

³ Foed. 172, 173, 177.

⁴ Mon. Malm. 182.

⁵ Id. and 184; Ann. Lond. 209; Parly. Writs, II. i. 89, 90.

⁶ Parly. Writs, II. i. 85, 86.

⁷ Ann. Lond. 210; Mon. Malm. 184, 185.

⁸ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 53, 54.

⁹ Ann. Lond. and Mon. Malm., sup.

¹⁰ 6 August. Foed. III. 175.

¹¹ 29 August-13 September. Ann. Paul. 171; Ann. Lond. 210.

CHAP. III

1312

Mediation.

Negotia-
tions.

brought two accomplished French *légistes* (*legistae Francigeni*) prepared to challenge any the smallest limitation of the Royal authority. Not content with pulling the Ordinances to pieces, clause by clause, they insisted that the whole scheme must be held involved in the condemnation of the Mise of Lewes uttered by Louis IX and Boniface VIII.¹ But the malcontent camp in Hertfordshire declined to discuss domestic questions with foreigners.² Negotiations under the joint presidency of the foreign envoys, and of Gloucester and John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, were opened on the 28th September, and lasted nearly three months. Hereford, Clifford and John of Bottetourt appeared for Lancaster and Warwick; ³ while Pembroke, the elder Despenser and Nicholas Segrave supported the King's cause. The Barons apparently at first, while offering to apologize and make restitution of the articles seized at Newcastle, demanded a confirmation of the Ordinances.⁴ Eventually they had to narrow their demands to one of amnesty, Edward showing himself very stiff, and apparently seeking to wear out his opponents by delay.⁵ On the 13th November a welcome ray of light broke on the troubled waters, when, to the joy of the whole nation, the young Queen gave birth at Windsor to a son and heir, the future Edward III. All question of a disputed succession at any rate would thus be happily removed.⁶ The King's temper too was mollified⁷ and a transient feeling of loyal sympathy evoked.

By the accord as finally settled the offending barons would present themselves under proper safe-conduct in Westminster Hall, on a given day, to do humble obeisance

¹ See their elaborate arguments, Ann. Lond. 212-215.

² Trokelowe, 78; Ann. Lond. 215.

³ Safe-conducts, Foed. 180, 182, 186, 191.

⁴ See the "Prima Tractatio", Ann. Lond. 210.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 190.

⁶ Foed. 187; Ann. Lond. 220, 221; Mon. Malm. 188. "Si rex decessisset sine prole pro certo mansisset corona sub lite;" an anticipation of the Lancastrian question. The Queen and her uncle wished the prince to be named Philip, but the English protested; Trokelowe, 79.

⁷ See G. Baker, 6 (E. M. Thompson, 1889).

to the King, on their knees, swearing that in all the matters concerning which he felt aggrieved they had intended no despite to him. Full restitution to be made of the jewels and horses found at Newcastle, with compensation for the value of any horses lost: the Barons to use their best endeavours to obtain from Parliament a subsidy for the Scottish war. On tender of the apology a free pardon to be delivered to the Barons, remitting to them, their 'supporters households and allies',¹ all manner of action suit or complaint in respect of the capture detention or death of Peter Gaveston, or of any matters connected therewith. Minor articles stipulated for the issue of writs of summons to Parliament in due form, irregular writs having been addressed to Lancaster and Warwick, and for the reinstatement of Henry Percy; while the Barons undertook not to come to Parliament in arms. The original draft of the treaty provided for the ratification of the pardon in a full Parliament to be held on the third Sunday in Lent, in the ensuing year. But, strange to say, Lancaster and Warwick preferred to rest on the King's patent, without the intervention of any statute.²

This arrangement by ignoring the Ordinances gave a certain moral victory to the King; but, as a matter of fact, he had trampled on them from the first, and simply continued to do so. In October he had reinstated Sandale as *locum tenens* of the Treasurer, and Bishop Reynolds as Keeper of the Seal.³ By their advice he issued writs for the collection of an unauthorized tallage of a tenth of rents and a fifteenth of movables from all cities, boroughs and Crown demesnes, a gross violation of *Confirmatio Cartarum*, and one for which no excuse could be pleaded. The revenue bequeathed to the King by his father was ample for all ordinary purposes, if properly managed; and Edward had come in for a substantial windfall in the

¹ "Aerdantz, mesnage et alies."

² 20 December, Foed. 191, 192; Ann. Lond. 221-229. The Commons had been dismissed on the 16th December, Parly. Writs, I. i. 79. What part they can have played does not appear.

³ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 56; October 4-6.

confiscated possessions of the Templars.¹ A strenuous resistance to the tax was offered by London, Bristol and other cities, and apparently it was never raised.² On the 1st January 1313 all private charters were called in for resealing;³ an objectionable proceeding but one not without precedent.

In the course of the month of February a mass of plate, jewels and effects described as 'late the property of Peter Gaveston' were duly delivered to the King,⁴ but in other respects the work of reconciliation made no progress. The King held aloof from the Baronage;⁵ and kept the country in a state of alarm by constant proclamations, and prohibitions of tournaments.⁶ A full general Parliament met on the 18th March as provided by the accord, and sat to the 7th April, but the King did not appear.⁷ Another Parliament was summoned in May, and then the leaders of the Opposition were absent. After three days of session the Commons were dismissed.⁸ Another ill-timed and unpopular step now taken by the King was a visit to France to assist at the knighting of the three sons of Philip the Fair. The barons protested, as the English holds in Scotland were falling one by one, while Bruce's raiders after levying blackmail on Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham, were now threatening York. But the perverse King clung to his pleasure-trip. He appointed Gloucester Regent, and on the 25th or 26th May crossed from Dover to Boulogne, with the Queen, Pembroke, Richmond, Despenser and an immense retinue. £20,000 were borrowed from a Genoese firm for the expenses of the journey.⁹ On Whit-Sunday (3rd June) the young

A trip to
France.

¹ These, however, had eventually to be surrendered to the Hospitallers; see below.

² Parly. Writs, 59, 84; Trevet, Cont. II. 18; Foed. 210; Mon. Malm. 219. No accounts of the tax are forthcoming.

³ Foed. 193.

⁴ For these see Appendix to this chapter.

⁵ Trokelowe, 80; Mon. Malm. 190; Walsing. I. 135.

⁶ See Foed. 196, 198, &c.; Northern Registers, 214 (Rolls Series, No. 61), Stubbs.

⁷ Mon. Malm., sup. The King was at Windsor or in London all the time.

⁸ Parly. Writs, II. i. 80, 91, 92; Foed. 211.

⁹ Mon. Malm. 190, 191; Foed. II. 212-217.

Princes Louis,¹ Philip² and Charles,³ destined to reign successively as Kings of France, were duly dubbed, with Hugh V, Duke of Burgundy, and a host of other young magnates.¹ After festivities on a scale of unprecedented splendour in Paris, the two courts adjourned to Pontoise. While there Edward and Isabelle ran some risk of losing their lives: a fire broke out by night in their quarters, and the Royal pair had to escape in their night-clothes.² Edward was again induced by Philip to offer a truce 'to such of the people of Scotland as we are at war with'. But as Bruce was not named, nothing came of it.³

On the 16th July the King landed at Sandwich. A Parliament summoned before he went abroad had been sitting at Westminster since the 8th of the month. But nothing had been done in consequence of the King's absence, and much discontent had been expressed thereat. A third full Parliament was immediately summoned for the 23rd September.⁴ Parliament.

This time the Opposition appeared in force, and insisted upon a settlement of their affair. The King had had his jewels restored, but not a step towards the stipulated pardon had been taken. But Edward was as stiff and unforgiving as ever; only after repeated warnings from within his circle, and open threats from without, was he prevailed upon to carry out the terms formally accepted the year before. At last, however, Lancaster, Warwick, Hereford, Arundel, Percy, and Clifford were admitted to make their obeisance in Westminster Hall, and received the kiss of peace (14 October).⁵ Two days later a full amnesty was granted to them and one hundred and sixty-seven followers, mostly North country men. The pardon extended to all transactions since the date of the King's marriage.⁶ As Kiss of Peace at last.

¹ Martin, France, IV. 501.

² Grandes Chroniques, V. 198; Lavissee, sup.

³ Foed. 214, 215.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. i. 94, 100; ii. 64; Mon. Malm. 193, 194; see also 191 for comments on the inglorious course of the reign so far.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 194, 195; Liber de Ant. 252; Trokelowe, 80.

⁶ Statutes, I. 169; Foed. II. 230-233. A counter-pardon, so to speak, was anted to all responsible for Gaveston's return to England.

CHAP. III

1313

a further token of goodwill the King invited Lancaster to dinner, and condescended to accept a return entertainment from him. Pembroke made friends with Lancaster; not so with the elder Despenser, round whom a considerable mass of odium was beginning to gather, partly on his own account, partly on the King's.¹

In consideration of the pacification the Parliament was induced to make a grant. The barons and counties gave a Twentieth, and the cities and boroughs a Fifteenth.² The Convocation of Canterbury had already voted fourpence on the mark (13s. 4d.) of their Spiritualities (May). But that did not satisfy the King. In July the bishops and conventual churches were called upon for 'benevolences', varying in amount from 100 marks to 150 marks each.³ The total exacted reached the sum of 13,000 marks (£8,666 13s. 4d.). William Testa, now a Cardinal of the Church, had lent the King 2,000 marks in France; Clement had advanced 169,000 gold florins on a mortgage of the revenues of Gascony.⁴ Both were pressing for repayment. It may have been in connexion with these liabilities that Edward between the 15th and the 20th December paid a hasty visit to France, a trip that escaped the notice of the chroniclers.⁵

Death of
Arch-
bishop
Winchel-
sey.

On the 11th May Archbishop Winchelsey closed his great career, passing away full of years at his manor of Otford in Kent.⁶ His health had been broken from the beginning of the reign; and the want of vigour in the proceedings of the Ordaining party may partly be ascribed to his infirmity.

¹ Mon. Malm., sup. As a further concession to Lancaster, Edward now appointed the younger Despenser his Chamberlain in succession to Gaveston; G. Baker, 6, 7. The writer lauds the father but not the son, bringing against him the charges of rapacity brought by the Malmesbury writer against the elder Hugh.

² Parly. Writs, II. i. 116; Trokelowe, 81. The Houses rose on the 15th November; Parly. Writs.

³ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 64-66; Wilkins, Conc. II. 426. The Northern clergy were convened at York on the 3rd September to grant 4d. on the mark; Reg. Pal. Dunelm. I. 430. On the 23rd November the Durham clergy granted 20d. on the £1 for defence; Id. 469.

⁴ Foed. II. 229, 231.

⁵ Itinerary; Foed. 238.

⁶ Reg. Sacr.; Angl. Sacr. I. 17; Trokelowe, 81.

We cannot but lament the fact that the name of this patriotic prelate should be associated with the introduction of torture into England. As a Churchman he could not but protest against the arbitrary incarceration of the Bishop of Lichfield,¹ little as he loved him; but in fact he took the first opportunity of excommunicating him afresh.

The See being vacant, the monks having obtained the due licence at once elected Thomas of Cobham, a distinguished scholar and a man of birth, who had been Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.² But the King wanted the appointment for his creature Walter Reynolds, Keeper of the Seal and Bishop of Worcester. The Pope at the time was anxious for the support of England as against an anti-Papal feeling gaining ground in France, while Edward, after a struggle, had given in to Clement in the matter of the Templar possessions, which the Council of Vienne had assigned to the Hospitallers.³ The election of Cobham, therefore, was cancelled and Reynolds appointed by Papal Bull of Provision.⁴ "*O quanta inter electum et praeffectum erat differentia*".⁵ A man of humble origin and no education, as already mentioned, he had as Keeper of the Prince of Wales' Wardrobe gained Edward's entire confidence before his accession to the Throne, and had been systematically favoured and promoted by him ever since. He was a courtier and time-server; one who knew how to make friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness. His influence at the Papal Court was almost equal to his influence with Edward. By the English clergy his elevation to the Primacy was regarded as little better than an insult.⁶ But his most emphatic condemnation will be found in his eventual desertion and betrayal of his friend and patron.⁷

Walter
Reynolds
Arch-
bishop.

¹ Hook, Archbishops, III. 452.

² Mon. Malm. 196; Angl. Sacr. I. 533.

³ For the struggle on this point see Foed. II. 153, 167, 168, 171, 174, 182, 235-237, 243. Cobham became Bishop of Worcester.

⁴ 1 October 1313; Id. 228.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 197.

⁶ "Quod talis homo totius Angliae foret primas"; Lanercost, 222.

⁷ Foss, III. 290.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

GAVESTON'S TREASURE

CHAP. III

1313

As a further illustration of the habit that mediaeval Royalties and magnates had of carrying all their valuables in their campaigns and peregrinations, the list of the articles found in Gaveston's possession when he was taken may be given. The inventory signed by Edward on the 27th February (Foedera, II. 203) specifies nearly two hundred lots; many of the articles must have been Crown heirlooms and personal gifts and keepsakes such as 'The cup bequeathed to the King by his mother with her blessing'; the list includes reliquaries of crystal, ivory and enamel; cups, 'hanapers', brooches, rings without number; diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, garnets, amethysts, pearls, peridots, &c., &c.; a Gaulish torque ("*un anel entour le col de un home*"—without the neck, surely!). Of special interest are 'the King's great ruby the Cherry'; another unset ruby valued at £1,000, and above all 'a gold ring with a sapphire the work of St. Dunstan'. For carrying about such articles the reader may compare the treasures lost by King John at the crossing of the Wash (Angevin Empire, 500); or the spoils found in the tent of Charles the Bold at Nancy; or the things lost by Edward himself at Bannockburn (below).

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1308-1314

Course of the War with Scotland.—Battle of Bannockburn.

In the distracted state of English politics Bruce and the national party in Scotland had been making steady progress. In May 1308 Edward could still reckon on the support of an array of Scottish Earls, viz. David of Atholl,¹ William of Ross, Patrick Dunbar of the March, John Comyn of Buchan, and Robert Umfraville of Angus, besides other leading barons.² But about that very time Buchan was expelled from Scotland and sent to end his days in England.³ Atholl lived there. The recovery of the East Highlands, the overrunning of Lorn, and the conquest of Galloway were further achievements of the year, which ended with the first appearance of Bruce on the borders of Northumberland. The Scots also ventured to reject a truce negotiated by Philip, because Bruce was not recognized as King. A substantial moral gain was the Dundee declaration of the clergy of Scotland in favour of Robert as 'true heir' to the Crown (February 1309) and especially important in view of his excommunicate position. All this has been already told, also that the English, though unable to extend their sphere of influence, still had twenty of the strongest towns and fortresses of Scotland in their hands. In 1310 Edward, having come to terms with the Ordainers, was able to march from Berwick to Linlithgow and back without opposition, as we have seen;⁴ and in the spring of 1311 Gaveston led a moderate force to Perth, and beyond, as he was supposed to have reduced all the country from the Forth to the

CHAP. IV

1308-1310

The war
with
Scotland.

¹ David of Strathbogie, son of John executed in 1306.

² Parly. Writs, II. i. 372.

³ Complete Peerage, and above.

⁴ Above, pp. 8, 9, 26, 30.

CHAP. IV

1311

Mountains (*ad montes*), while Gloucester and Surrey once more subjugated 'the Forest' (i.e. Ettrick and Selkirk).¹

Scottish
raids.

As long as Edward was content to remain keeping guard on the Border Bruce was held in check. On the 1st August 1311, however, the King left Berwick, moving southwards,² as we have seen. On the 12th Robert crossed the Solway, and for eight days ravaged Gillsland, Haltwhistle, and great part of the South Tyne. About the 8th September he crossed the Carter Fell from Jedburgh, and came down on Redesdale and Harbottle, burning the North Tyne down to Corbridge. On the 16th September he entered the Palatinate of Durham, committing similar ravages there. Richard Kellaw, however,³ Beck's successor, barred any further advance South, and so the Scots returned home via the North Tyne, destroying whatever they had spared before.⁴ The Northumbrians, however, fearing a third inroad, were content to give £2,000 for a truce to the 2nd February 1312. Such of the men of Berwickshire and East Lothian as held to the English alliance⁵ followed their example. In the divided state of Scotland we are told that the father could be on the one side, the son on the other side; brother might be arrayed against brother, but the hearts of all at bottom would beat together.⁶ But the subdivision of families in times of trouble was not peculiar to Scotland or the Middle Ages.

Scottish
gains.

From the Border Bruce went back to complete the reduction of the country between the Forth and the Grampians. The first gain, apparently, was that of the castle of Forfar, recovered by a local partisan, one Philip 'Forester of Platter'.⁷ On the 8th January 1312 Perth was carried by a nocturnal escalade, after a siege of some six weeks' duration. Bruce himself, ladder in hand, led his men through the moat—a relic of the Roman camp—with

¹ Lanercost, 214. ² Itinerary. ³ Consecrated 30 May 1311; Reg. Sacr.

⁴ Lanercost, 215, 216; Northern Registers, 204, a letter from Kellaw to the Pope begging to be excused attendance at the Council of Vienne; Fordun.

⁵ "Qui adhuc erant ad pacem Regis Angliae;" Lanercost.

⁶ So Lanercost, sup., an English writer.

⁷ Barbour, 203, 204. The Forest of Platter lay between Forfar and Kirriemuir.

water up to his neck. In conformity with his settled practice the fortifications were at once dismantled.¹

The reduction of Perth was followed by an attack on Dundee, Bruce having declined the truce offered by Edward. After a siege of several weeks the Constable William Mountfitchet signed a capitulation and gave hostages; but Edward refused to ratify the convention, and so Dundee had to hold out.² Minor gains of the year were the captures of the fortresses of Bute, Dumfries and Dalswynton.³

Of far greater importance for the national cause was the recovery of the support of Thomas Randolph. This man, taken prisoner at Methven in 1306, had purchased freedom by turning English. Having fallen into the hands of James Douglas he was shortly induced to return to the side of his uncle.⁴ The Scottish magnates, as a rule, had by no means as yet thrown in their lot with Bruce. At the siege of Perth Malis, Earl of Strathearn, was on the English side; the younger Malis with Bruce.⁵

In August, while England was wholly taken up with the death of Gaveston, Bruce reappeared on the Border. He rested three days at Lanercost, and again visited Hexham and Corbridge, sacked Hartlepool, and burned the town of Durham. On the 16th of the month Bishop Kellaw signed a private truce for the lands between the Tyne and Tees, to hold good to Midsummer 1313; for this protection 450 marks were to be paid.⁶ The same humiliating course was again adopted by Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and 'the English' of the South of Scotland.⁷ The year ended with an attempt to take Berwick by nocturnal escalade; the place was only saved by the timely barking of a dog.⁸

Raiding
and Black-
mail.

¹ Fordun, 346; Barbour, 204-208; and for the date, Lanercost, 221. Perth was known to be in danger in October 1311; the name now disappears from the English records, communications being still kept up with Dundee, Edinburgh, Stirling, and the peel at Linlithgow.

² Rot. Scot. I. 108, 109.

³ Fordun, 346.

⁴ Barbour, 216-218; cf. Rot. Scot. I. 110.

⁵ Id. 207.

⁶ Reg. Pal. Dunelm. I. 191, 204.

⁷ Lanercost, 218-220; Heming. II. 294; Fordun, sup.; Rot. Scot. 111.

⁸ 5-6 December, Lanercost, 220, 221; Mon. Malm. 200.

CHAP. IV

1313

Linlith-
gow

One gain of the year 1313 was the capture of the peel of Linlithgow,¹ Edward I's fortification. This again was the work of a local partisan, a worthy "husband" (i.e. husbandman), by name William Bannok or Binning. Being in the habit of supplying the fort with hay, he managed to secrete eight armed men in a wagon-load of hay ordered by the garrison. When the wain was in the "cheeks" of the gateway he cut the trace or treck-tow, loosing the oxen and blocking the gate. Friends waiting in ambush rushed up in support, and the place was won.²

and the
Isle of
Man.

At Midsummer when the local truces expired Bruce again put in an appearance; the men of the Northern counties, still left to their own resources, deemed it expedient to purchase a fresh truce to take them to Michaelmas 1314.³ But the hostile demonstration was only a feint to cover an attack on the Isle of Man, which Bruce overran and annexed in the course of June.⁴

Escalades.

The year 1314 witnessed great things, establishing the Bruce dynasty, and placing the relations of Scotland to England on a new footing. Early in the year both Roxburgh and Edinburgh fell. The great Border fortress was captured by James Douglas on Shrove Tuesday, 19th February; while Edinburgh succumbed to Thomas Randolph on the 14th March. Roxburgh was taken by night escalade, the favourite mode of attack, the Scots creeping up the bank to the foot of the wall on hands and knees with black frocks over their armour. Most of the garrison were in hall, keeping Carnival

" at thar dansing
Singing and othirwais playing,
As upon Fastryn eve it is
The custum to mak joy and blis."

¹ "Pele;" Barbour, 224; "Pro pelo de Lynliscu;" Rot. Scot.

² 'Harvest tide;' Barbour, 224-228. Of course the gateway blocked must have been that of an outwork. Linlithgow is not named in the Scotch Rolls after February 1313.

³ Lanercost, 222; cf. Parly. Writs, II. i. 98; May.

⁴ Chron. Man; Camden, Britannia, 1057; Hailes; Scotichron.

The few left on duty on the walls saw the crawling forms below, but 'weend they had been oxen'—stray beasts. They paid dearly for their mistake. The assailants hooked their rope ladder to a battlement, and crept up one by one; the watch was overpowered; and the merry-making in hall quenched in blood. The 'great tower' held out for a day or two, and then the Constable Gillemín Fiennes, a Gascon, surrendered. All the works were carefully levelled.¹

Edinburgh Castle was taken by another night attack of a still more amazing character. A party of thirty men found a guide to lead them up the steep face of the rock on the north side, while the attention of the garrison was diverted by a feigned attack on the gate leading to the High Street.² From Edinburgh the Scots marched to the siege of Stirling, one of the few strongholds still retained by the English,³ Bruce's surviving brother Edward directing the attack.

King Edward had already promised his adherents that he would be in Scotland by the month of June.⁴ With March 1314 active preparations were begun, and carried on for three months without intermission; horses and arms were bought, shipping bespoke, and stores of fodder and corn accumulated.⁵ On the 24th of March 5,700 footmen from the Northern counties and the Welsh March, with 4,000 men from Ireland, were ordered. Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, would have charge of 'the Irishry', the

War-measures in England.

¹ Lanercost, 223; Barbour, 232-237; Scalacr. 140; Fordun, sup.; where the year is given as 1313, but Roxburgh was in the hands of the English in November 1313; Rot. Scot. I. 114. The ladder used was evidently just such a one as that described by the Lanercost writer in connexion with the attempt on Berwick (p. 221), namely, a ladder of rope with flat wooden rungs, a cleek or hook at the top, made to catch on to a battlement, and fenders to keep the ropes clear enough of the wall to allow of a foothold. The cleek had a hole for the point of a spear with which it could be hoisted up.

² Lanercost, sup.; Barbour, 238-242; Fordun, sup., again under 1313. Mon. Malm. 199, 200. Note that again the garrison were Gascon mercenaries; Scalacr., sup.

³ Jedburgh also still held out.

⁴ November, December 1313; Foed. II. 237, 238.

⁵ Rot. Scot. I. 114-128.

CHAP. IV

1314

actual raising of the men being committed to native chiefs—O'Connor, O'Donnel and O'Neil—seven-and-twenty in number.¹ The clergy and infirm were directed to compound by paying scutage at the rate of 20 marks (£13 8s. 6d.), the knight's fee.² In April 10,000 extra foot were ordered, while final commissions of array issued on the 27th May called for a total of 20,500 men from England and Wales. By way of accounting for the need of such numbers the King explained that he was informed that the Scots had taken up a position among morasses where cavalry could not act.³ In short all the resources at the King's command were called into requisition. But Edward was not happy in his treatment of his subjects, and their hearts were not with him. When the writs to the military tenants were issued the Opposition Barons protested that under the Ordinances Parliament ought to have been consulted as to the war with Scotland. The objection must be pronounced captious and unwarranted. An application to Parliament for a subsidy for the war with Scotland was an express stipulation of the pacification as settled in 1312 and the grant of the Parliament of 1314 must be regarded as a fulfilment of that agreement, involving a distinct sanction of the expedition. If Edward had had the political instincts of his father he would have thrown himself upon the loyalty of the nation, and would without doubt have received ample support. Instead of that, as if to show his contempt for any appeal to the lieges, he actually countermanded a session previously summoned for the 21st April.⁴ Both sides must be pronounced in the wrong, a dismal judgement, but one probably applicable to the whole current of domestic politics throughout the reign.

From the Canterbury clergy the King received a deserved rebuff. Wanting money he called for a Convocation.

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 425. Shipping to bring the Irish to Skinburness, with pay and provisions for them, were ordered; Rot. Scot. 122; but how many came over does not appear.

² Parly. Writs, II. i. 426.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 425.

⁴ Mon. Malm. 200, 201; Trokelowe, 83; Lanercost, 225; Parly. Writs, II. i. 119, 121.

Captious
opposition.

But instead of leaving the place of meeting and the conduct of business to the Archbishop, he directed the clergy to meet at Westminster—an absolute novelty—inviting them to come to terms with Royal commissioners as to the amount to be given. In consequence the clergy declined to answer till they had received a proper summons.¹

On the 17th May, being at Newminster, Edward gave his final orders for meeting at Wark on the 10th June. Philip Mowbray, the Constable of Stirling, had agreed to yield if not relieved by the Feast of St. John.² On the 11th June the King appeared at Berwick. The muster rolls of the campaign do not appear to have been preserved. But those of 1310 supply us with data for an estimate of the numbers of the cavalry. In that year 175 tenants in chief, liable for 236 knights' fees, were summoned, and cleared themselves by producing 51 fully equipped men-at-arms (*milites*), and 370 *servientes*, light horse, making 421 mounted men in all.³ On the present occasion only 95 tenants The
Muster. had been called upon for attendance in the field, the bishops being required to compound by money-payments. For the *debitum servitium* we do not see how we could allow more than 300 men. A passage in a leading authority of the time suggests that though tenants could not be compelled to produce more than their due quotas, loyal supporters might come in much stronger force.⁴ This opens up an indefinite field for conjecture. To produce more than the due number, however, would be contrary to all the evidence of the muster rolls, which show that the tenants were very jealous of exceeding their liability by even a fraction of a fee. As we have seen, the King was not looking to his cavalry, as he understood that the Scots

¹ See Parly. Writs, II. i. 119, 121; and the protest of the clergy, 123, 124. Convocation of York met 26th June, and granted 1s. on the mark; Reg. Pal. I. 636, Stubbs. Canterbury met 17th July, and were saddled with loans in anticipation of future grants to the amount of 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.); Parly. Writs, II. ii. 74, 78, 79.

² Foed. II. 248.

Above, p. 31.

⁴ "Omnes hii (i.e. the King's party) venient cum suis militibus, non est magna cura de reliquis comitibus;" Mon. Malm. 101.

CHAP. IV

1314

Cavalry.

Infantry.

occupied a position unassailable by that arm. Even if we should allow 500 horse, or double that again for his cavalry, we should still have a paltry force in comparison with the 1,500 or 2,000 horse we suggested for the Falkirk campaign.¹ Of the numbers of the infantry brought to Berwick it is impossible to offer any trustworthy estimate. We have seen that as a rule only a small proportion of those called for were taken into pay. Edward I had 7,000 foot at Worcester in 1282 for the Welsh campaign;² so that 10,000 or 12,000 men would make a large army; and a large army no doubt Edward had gathered round him. Possibly he may have had 15,000 or even 20,000 foot. The baggage train with grooms, tent-men, sutlers and supplies was said to cover 20 miles of road.³

The contingents, however, came in rather slowly, and Edward was detained some days at Berwick in consequence. Absentees. Neither Lancaster, Warenne, Arundel nor Warwick appeared in person. But the King was quite content. He had with him Gloucester and Pembroke, also Hereford and Clifford, now ranked on his side, besides his own especial confidants, Despenser, Henry of Beaumont, Edmund de Mauley, Nicholas Segrave.

Satisfied that with his numbers he could crush the Scots, Edward set out from Berwick 'with as light a heart' as if he were bound on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella.⁴

Bruce's
Disposi-
tions.

Bruce's task was to bar the access to Stirling. For that purpose he mustered his forces in the Tor Wood, a strong position on a hilly ridge, on the old Roman road from Falkirk to Stirling, situate about eight miles from the latter place. But Robert did not intend to make his stand in

¹ Dawn of Constitution, 460. The Malmesbury writer has the men-at-arms as 2,000 (p. 201). On the next page he asserts twice that Gloucester had 500 men in his own pay (*suis sumptibus*) in the battle. But that would be his *servitium debitum*; as such the number is quite incredible. I would read it as 500 men with him in the charge.

² Morris, Welsh Wars, 159, 160; and Dawn, 339.

³ Mon. Malm. 201, 202. Mr. Oman, not content with taking it for granted that the levies summoned all came forward to a man, assumes writs to the counties not summoned, and so brings out a total of 50,000 foot with 10,000 horse; Art of War, 573, 575.

⁴ Mon. Malm., sup.

the thickets of the Tor Wood, where he would have had no room to act, and might be surrounded and starved out. For the necessary battle he had selected a more suitable site, on the same Roman road, nearer to Stirling.

Of the numbers of his forces we will endeavour later to give an estimate based on their formation, and the ground that we believe them to have occupied in the action. Of their composition we can point out that the higher Scottish nobility were conspicuous by their absence. Of Bruce's men only five could boast of names thought worthy of mention; and these were his brother Edward; his nephew Thomas Randolph, now spoken of as Earl of Moray; Walter the young High Stewart of Scotland; James Douglas, popularly known as 'The Good Lord James'; and Robert Keith the Marshal.¹ On the other hand, Edward had with him in the field Robert of Umfraville, Earl of Angus, and John Comyn, son of the victim of the tragedy of Dumfries.² Thus it will be seen that the strength of the national party still lay with the clergy, the minor barons and middling gentry, and the burghers and better class of yeomen, two of whom had already distinguished themselves by special services.

Composi-
tion of his
forces.

After a hasty advance of 86 miles from Berwick, 'leaving little time for sleep and less for food, with horses and men alike fatigued,' on the afternoon of Sunday 23rd June Edward appeared before the Tor Wood.³ Skirmishing ensued, leading to some personal encounters of a truly Homeric character. Bruce with his centre held the narrow Roman road that passed through the heart of the wood. Gloucester, who had been associated with Hereford the Constable in command of the van, attempting to press Bruce too closely, was repulsed and unhorsed.⁴ Henry of

Actions
in the Tor
Wood.

¹ Barbour, 257, 266.

² Lanercost, 224.

³ Mon. Malm., sup.; Lanercost, 225; Trokelowe, 87. Edward still signs at Berwick on the 18th (Itinerary); if he started that day he would have to march an average of 14 to 15 miles a day; if he did not start till the 19th he would have had to march over 17 miles a day. Barbour, 262, has it that the English came from Edinburgh that day; if so they must have marched 30 miles.

⁴ Scalacr. 141. The writer had his facts from his father, who was present.

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Bohun, 'cousin to the Earl,' scouring the wood with some Welshmen, got too far ahead of his men. Bruce, mounted on a little palfrey, hastened to cut off his retreat. Bohun rode at him full tilt. But the lance missed its mark. Bruce, rising in his stirrups, as his adversary swept past him, brained him with his battle-axe.¹

On the English left Clifford and Henry of Beaumont thought to outflank the Scots by making a circuit round lower ground and open fields² to the west of the Scottish position. Randolph, in the Scottish van,³ corresponding to the right in line of battle, watching their movements from the shelter of the wood, allowed them to push on till they had lost touch with their supports, and then, coming down from the wood, took them in the rear. Beaumont suggested a retreat. Thomas Grey of Heton, father of the author of the *Scalacronica*, venturing to differ, Beaumont rudely said "*Si tu eiez poour fuez*" (Flee if thou art afraid). Grey, a veteran who for years on garrison duty in Scotland—the most dangerous service imaginable⁴—had carried his life in his hands, answered proudly, "*Pour poour ne fureray ieo huy*" (For fear will not I flee to-day). Setting spurs to his horse he charged, William D'Eyncourt, another knight, keeping him company. Both immediately fell, D'Eyncourt killed, Grey unhorsed and taken prisoner. Clifford's force was scattered, and had to rejoin headquarters as best it could.

Advance
to Bannockburn.

Meanwhile Bruce was executing an orderly retreat. The English followed, much irritated (*exacerbati*) and discouraged by the course of the day's events; and eventually, on reaching the little Bannockburn stream pitched their

¹ Mon. Malm. and Scalacr., sup. The latter gives the name of the man killed as Peter de Montfort. See Barbour, 274, 275. But the latter places the skirmish not in the Tor Wood, but at Bannockburn, quite wrongly, and most modern writers follow him.

² "As beaux chaumps," Scalacr.; "Beneth the Park," and, on "the plane" Barbour, 269. As already mentioned he places these encounters on the Bannockburn site; but the lie of the ground would be much the same in either case.

³ Barbour, 260; Scalacr., sup.

⁴ See what Grey had to face in going back to his post at Coupar Fife, of which he was constable, after attending Edward's coronation; Scalacr. 138.

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tents there in ground described as somewhat swampy, being as we take it the slopes on the right bank of the burn, facing the Scottish position, and at some distance above the village of Bannockburn.¹ An uncomfortable bivouac under arms ensued, a night attack being feared, as the Scots in fact were established on a height in front not a mile off.²

Bruce's
position.

Bruce was bivouacking on the other side of the burn, pretty much on the ground on which he intended to abide the English attack. The site is not open to doubt.³ Carefully cherished tradition points to the Bore Stone, hard by the Roman road, as the place where Bruce's standard was set up: that shows his centre to have been established on the rounded crest of a little ridge, extending at most some 1,000 or 1,100 yards from N.W. to S.E., across the Roman road, with the ground falling away on every side.⁴ To the front and South-East there was the valley of the burn, which becomes very deep as it approaches the village of Bannockburn; to the East, beyond the modern road from Stirling to Denny, come the slopes running down towards the lowlands of the "Carse"; while to the West and North again the declivities are decidedly steep. In fact the easiest slope was that in front, along the road, from the burn upwards, where the gradient only amounts to one in forty-six. The battlefield and all the surrounding area formed part of a royal chase, known as the New Park, all under grass, but thickly studded with trees,⁵ and so far, not favourable to the evolutions of cavalry. But how far the presence of trees affected the course of the battle does not appear.

At the Bore Stone, the highest point of the little ridge,

¹ "En un plain devers leau de Forth oultre Bannockburn;" Scalacr. See Map.

² Lanercost, sup.; Scalacr. 141, 142; Barbour, 268-271, 287; Mon. Malm. and Trokelowe, sup. Barbour, who talks of the English spending the night in drink with "wassayl" and "drink hail", must have been reading the accounts of the battle of Senlac in the Roman de Rou. See Foundations, II. 25.

³ On the Ordnance Survey Map (1897) the battlefield is placed three-quarters of a mile away to the West, a position that would leave the road to Stirling quite open. The older Survey had it as I have it.

⁴ See Plan of battlefield.

⁵ Barbour, 260.

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not quite 1,000 yards from the burn, Bruce would have a commanding view all round. Another protection to his front he may perhaps have had in the mill-lead noticed on our map. No reference to it is made by any of the writers ; but it probably existed at the time ; and it would explain the statement of one chronicler that the night was partly spent by the English in searching for timber and planks for bridging a stream. The Bannock Burn itself would not require bridging ; but the mill-lead with its steep banks and deep bed would certainly require bridging for heavy cavalry.

His battle-
array.

When the short June night had run its course Bruce proceeded to draw up his men, all on foot, men-at-arms and all, in three "schiltrums", or solid circular corps of pikemen, the best and most approved formation for resisting cavalry. This arrangement was that adopted by Reginald of Boulogne for his footmen at Bouvines, by Wallace at Falkirk, and by the Welsh at Maesmadog.¹ The three corps were not arranged in one line, the two wings being thrown forward, on a line with each other, but in advance of the centre body, the whole arrangement forming three sides of a square so to speak.² The central or King's corps would be formed on the road, the wings on each side of it. With respect to equipment, the Scottish pike is said to have been six "elns" or nineteen feet six inches long ;³

¹ "En schiltrome ;" Scalacr. Barbour does not use the term "schiltrum" with reference to the formation at Bannockburn, but he clearly describes Randolph's formation in the action of the previous day as circular, with spears all pointed outwards, 270 ; and again he likens them to a prickly hedgehog, "hyrcheoun," 285. It would seem that *prima facie* "schiltrum" was understood to mean a circular formation, and is so defined by Holinshed in connexion with his account of the Scots at Falkirk, "round battels." See also Jameson, *Scottish Dict.*

² "In tres turmas divisit ut nullus eorum equum ascendit ;" Mon. Malm. 202. "Ordinaverat sic exercitum suum quod duae acies eius praecirent tertiam, una ex latere alterius ; ita quod neutra aliam praecederet, et tertia sequeretur in qua erat Robertus ;" Lanercost, sup. "Trois battails a pee ;" Scalacr. Barbour rightly has the two wings on a line ; "a little space apart," with the King in the rear ; 161, 162. But apparently for the sake of finding a command for Edward Bruce he introduces a fourth corps to the front, making a lozenge arrangement, where the outstanding "schiltrum" would receive the whole brunt of the attack. As a matter of fact the English fell on the Scottish left, as we shall see.

³ Cosmo Innes, note to Barbour, 518 ; Jameson, *Dict.*

each man also had a battle-axe and a padded jacket or acton said to be sword-proof¹ like the second class in the English Assizes of Arms.

Not content with the natural defences of the site, Bruce had spent the night enclosing the ground to be occupied by his men with an inner line of protection against cavalry, by covering the whole of his front,² on either side of the Roman road, with a series of little pits, three feet deep and as many broad, carefully concealed by turf laid on hurdles,³ absolute pitfalls for cavalry, though men on foot could pass lightly over them. The pits were dug so closely together as almost to form a continuous ditch, and so they are described by one writer.⁴

With respect to Bruce's numbers we have said that the ridge occupied by him in its fullest extent from the low ground at the one end to the low ground at the other end might measure 1,000 yards or 1,100 yards. If Bruce had had to face a direct frontal attack at the centre of the ridge he would have had a considerable length of front to defend. But the Roman road takes the hill obliquely, and so Bruce had to post his men athwart the slope with a considerable reduction of front. If we measure the ground from the Roman road at the Bore Stone as a central point, with troops aligned at a right angle to it, we shall find that while to the East some 400 or 500 yards might have to be defended, to the West there would be barely 150 yards available for the formation of troops in a mass, the ground beyond being too steep.⁵ But the strength of the three schiltrums, at any rate that of the wing-corps, must be assumed

Breadth of
Bruce's
front.

Estimates
of his
numbers.

¹ Mon. Malm. 203.

² "A dextro in sinistrum cornu;" Baker.

³ See Plan.

"On ather sid the way wel brad

. It was potted as I haf tald;" Barbour, 263.

He makes the pits deep "up till ane man's knee," but only "ane fut-bred round", which surely would be too small. "Plebs foveas fodit ut per eas labantur equestres;" R. Baston, Scotichronicon, II. 252, a song composed immediately after the battle.

⁴ Baker, 7, 8.

⁵ See Plan. It should be noticed that the cross-road to Chartershall makes a zigzag outside the position I assign to the Scottish right; that is due to the steepness of the declivity.

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to have been equal; any disparity of numbers would throw an unfair burden on the weaker arm: we must therefore limit the total width of front covered by Bruce's three corps at some 300 yards, 150 yards on each side of the road. Allowing to each corps the full possible diameter of 100 yards each, say five rows deep, we should get some 2,300 men for each, or 6,900 men in all. But the schiltrums had probably a good deal less than 100 yards diameter, and they need not have had five rows of men. Altogether in our opinion, 4,000 or 4,500 men would be a large army for Bruce's Scotland to turn out. A total of 4,500 foot would allow 1,500 men to each schiltrum. Bruce commanded the centre from his view-point at the Bore Stone. Randolph had the right wing, and Douglas and the young Stewart the left wing. Edward Bruce probably assisted his brother. A small force of light cavalry, under Robert Keith the Marshal, was kept in the rear, to act as might be required. The camp followers and baggage were sent off to a "vale", probably the depression at the back of the ridge.

Feeling in
the English
camp.

In the morning, on the English side, the older and more experienced commanders (*veterani*) urged 'a keeping of the Feast', the Nativity of St. John, to rest the troops, after their heavy day of marching and their broken night. The younger men protested against the faint-hearted proposal. Gloucester, however, though one of the youngest, supported the 'veterans', only to be stigmatized by the King as a traitor and a shuffler.¹ Boiling with indignation the Earl hurried off to prepare for action, while the foot-soldiers were set in motion. The burn, a shallow stream even in winter, with gravelly bottom and low grassy banks, would offer little obstacle. The mill-lead, likewise, if extant, was safely crossed. Archers of course led the way,² then came the cavalry in glittering array, 'shining like angels';³ and after them the remaining thousands of foot,

The
advance.

¹ Mon. Malm., "Proditionem et praevaricationem imponens."

² Lanercost; Trokelowe.

³ "That richt as angelis schane brichtly;" Barbour, 288.

huddled together, with little appearance of organization, and presenting, as seen from the Scottish side, the appearance of one huge confused schiltrum.¹ About 'the third hour', i.e. nine o'clock a.m., the action began. We are told that the English had the sun in their faces,² and so they would, advancing by the Roman road to the Bore Stone.³ At their approach we are told that the Scots knelt and offered a short *Pater Noster*. Edward seeing the act of devotion called out 'They kneel! they kneel! they ask for mercy!' 'Sooth Sire,' answered Ingelram of Umfraville, 'they ask for mercy, but not of thee.'⁴

Bruce, apparently, had covered his front with a line of The archers, but the English bowmen soon disposed of them.⁵ archers. Had they been allowed to continue to play their arrowy hail on the serried ranks of the schiltrums Bannockburn might have witnessed another Falkirk. But the English chivalry could not bear to see the honours of the day fall to mere footmen. There had been some friction between Hereford and Gloucester; the latter was smarting under the sense of the King's hard words, and anxious to distinguish himself. He hurried the cavalry across the burn and up the road, making for the Scottish left.⁶ The reason for selecting this wing for attack seems clear. To the left of the position assigned by us to the Scots the ground would offer some scope for a flanking attack. To the right of the Scottish position there was a perilous steep, not to be faced by cavalry. For the Scottish left, therefore, Gloucester made, but only to tumble into the treacherous pits, and if any the Defeat of the cavalry. man did manage to surmount the hazard it was only to encounter an impenetrable forest of pikes. The whole line was speedily broken up and discomfited. But the masses of infantry still remained intact. The archers again coming forward endeavoured to help the cavalry with arrows, shot over their heads, but with little effect, and in fact we are

¹ Barbour, 288.

² Baker, 8.

³ Advancing to the site of battle indicated on the Ordnance maps they would have had the sun in their backs.

⁴ Barbour, 290; Lanercost, sup.

⁵ Lanercost; Trokelowe.

⁶ Mon. Malm.

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Archers
ridden
down.

told that they did as much harm as good.¹ But, with their numbers, they could in time easily have surrounded the entire Scottish force. But Bruce was prepared for them. Letting loose his light horse under Keith he took them in flank, and swept them downhill towards the village of Bannockburn and the gully below the crossing of the burn. Pembroke and Giles of Argentine, a distinguished Hospitaller, who had recently come to England from the East,³ had charge of the King's person, one at each bridle-rein. Matters beginning to look ugly they hastened to remove him, making for Stirling. When they seemed to be out of danger Giles took his leave; he was not wont, he said, to flee from battlefields. Gallantly he hastened back to lose his life in the *mêlée*.

“He was the thrid best Knight perfoy
That men wist lifand in his day.”⁴

General
rout.

With respect to the way by which the King was taken from the battlefield, we would suggest that skirting the Scottish right at a safe distance, they made their way round to the old Roman road, and so reached Stirling in safety. The disappearance of the Royal Standard must have been a grievous blow to the English, and not a few began to follow the pitiful example thus set.⁵ Meanwhile we suppose that the schiltrums had opened their ranks, wheeling into line, carrying all before them, and driving the English down towards the Carse, as we are told that many were drowned in the tidal waters of the burn.⁶ That could only happen below the village of Bannockburn; above the village the little stream could drown no one. The battle ended with a curious incident, that helped to complete the

¹ Baker, 8, 9; Lanercost, sup.

² Barbour, 296. I introduce this incident where the writer, the only one who records it, introduces it. Most modern writers bring it in before the advance of the cavalry.

³ See Edward's letter to 'the Emperor' on Giles's behalf; Foed. II. 229.

⁴ Scalacr. 142; Barbour, 304, 305.

⁵ Mon. Malm.

⁶ "Foveam magnam in quam intrat fluxus maris, nomine Bannokeburne," Lanercost; also Barbour, 306; Fordun, 346.

English rout. The despised camp-followers, "poverale," sent out of the way to the rear of the battlefield, had been watching the course of events from the height.¹ When the English began to give way, the "gillies", overpowered by the excitement of battle or thirst for plunder, hoisted extemporized banners and poured down the hill to take their part in the struggle. The motley crew, taken in the distance for a reinforcement, started a final panic. Scottish greed of loot and ransom probably saved the English from a slaughtering pursuit; ² but the losses among the chivalry were terrible. Among the fallen were the Earl of Gloucester, Clifford, de Mauley, John and Edward Comyn, Payn Tiptoft, William and Anselm Marshall, John de Montfort, John de Grey, thirty-seven names given.³ Gloucester would have been spared for ransom, if he had been recognized; but unfortunately he went into action without his coat-armour, and so was sacrificed. Among those taken prisoner were John of Brittany, the Earls of Hereford and Angus (Robert of Umfraville), his brother Ingelram of Umfraville, and the barons John of Segrave, Ralph of Monthermer, William le Latimer, John Giffard, Maurice Berkeley, Anthony Lucy.⁴

The King made his way to Stirling, as already mentioned. But Mowbray pointed out that the place could offer him no sure refuge, as he would have to surrender on the morrow; so, taking Edward by the "Round Table", he sent him off to make the best of his way to Linlithgow. The "Round Table" is identified with the King's Knot, an old earthwork to the west of the Castle rock. From this we may gather that the King was taken back much as he had come, namely to the west of the battlefield, but at a safer distance from the sphere of action. At Linlithgow he would fall in with

¹ See Map. Tradition identifies the height with the Gillies' Hill, but this seems much too remote; opinion is divided on the subject.

² Mon. Malm. 206. For the spoils see Hill Burton, II. 385. Edward lost his Privy Seal. Mary Queen of Scots had jewels which had been taken at Bannockburn.

³ Ann. Lond. 231; Bridlington, 46, 47.

⁴ Baker, 8; Mon. Malm. 206; Lanercost, 228, 229.

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his retreating forces. From Linlithgow he made his way to Dunbar. Earl Patrick received him as in duty bound, and provided him with a vessel with which he made his way to Berwick. He signs there on the 27th June.¹ Hereford, Angus, Ingelram of Umfraville and Segrave were captured at Bothwell, while making for Carlisle.² Robert Baston, a Carmelite Friar brought by Edward to chronicle his deeds, "paid a poet's ransom" by singing the triumph of the Bruce.³

On the Scottish side only two knights fell, William Vipont and Walter Ross.⁴

The battle calls for no further comment. Like Lewes it was an exhibition of blind presumption and self-confidence on one side, as against caution, forethought and military skill on the other side. But the consequences of the day were momentous. England had received a lesson in the art of war that, duly taken to heart, was destined to lead her to victory on many a future field of glory. The heavy cavalry that had been thought invincible since the day of Senlac must now dismount to fight on foot.

For Scotland, her independence was now assured. It has been said that "the triumph of Bannockburn bore no better fruits than the uncontrolled licence of a rude aristocracy . . . and the profound misery of the people . . . Scotland bought her independence at the cost of inconceivable material wretchedness, the loss of constitutional liberty . . . and the arrest for four hundred years of any real progress of civilization."⁵ As a picture of the results of the estrangement of Scotland from England this passage is probably no exaggeration. Scotland suffered more than can be told by the struggle with England: but is the responsibility for all that misery to be laid to the charge of the victors of Bannockburn, or of the arbiter of Norham? By all the laws and instincts of human nature the Scots were bound to

¹ Barbour, 307; Lanercost, sup.; Mon. Malm. 205; Foed. 249.

² Barbour, 308-311.

³ See Scotichron. II. 250-253, and Baston's poem there.

⁴ Barbour, sup.

⁵ Essays and Reviews, by H. H. Lancaster.

resist Edward I's aggression under penalty of loss of self-respect. Had Bannockburn never been fought, or had it seen another issue, Scotland would have become a second Ireland, with the Forth for its Pale. After the lapse of five hundred years we may safely ascribe the cordial relations of the two countries to the victory of the Bruce.

CHAPTER V

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1314-1318

Question of the Ordinances.—Struggles between the King and Lancaster.—Scottish inroads.—Lancaster invested with chief civil and military authority.—Years of Dearth.—Lancaster found wanting.—Reconciled to King on condition of confirmation of Ordinances.

CHAP. V

1314

A BEATEN and fugitive King, Edward returned to his dominions. The inevitable Parliament was now summoned for the 9th September; but the King felt his humiliation too deeply to show himself to the Londoners, or anywhere else in public. The session was held at York, and opened by commission, the commissioners being Pembroke and Henry of Beaumont, the latter a man banished in 1311. The selection was not judicious. Still, in his present distress Edward appealed to the barons, asking for counsel and advice. But Lancaster was obdurate, and at once answered that matters had gone wrong because the Ordinances had not been observed. The King had sworn to observe them, and Archbishop Winchelsey had excommunicated all infringers. How could anything succeed under the lead of men virtually excommunicate? Edward was ready with every promise; but Thomas insisted on performance; the Ministry must be reformed. Reynolds therefore had to surrender the Great Seal to John Sandale "a protégé of the late Archbishop"; Walter of Norwich, a Baron of the Exchequer, became Treasurer, while sweeping changes were made in the sherifffdoms. Despenser and Beaumont were threatened with impeachment; the prosecution however was dropped at the King's instance, but Hugh found it prudent to go into retirement for a while.¹

Change of
Ministry.

¹ Mon. Malm. 208; Ann. Paul. 276; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 81; List of Sheriffs; Stubbs.

The course to be held towards Scotland was also discussed in the York Parliament. Bruce had followed up his victory by invading England (1st August). The ravages of his followers had been pushed across the Tees, and up to the gates of Richmond (Yorkshire).¹ We may fully believe that Bruce desired peace with England 'beyond everything';² Edward was willing to treat for an exchange of prisoners, or even for a 'sufferance', but not for a peace upon the only possible basis, namely that of the recognition of Bruce as King of Scotland. All that Parliament therefore could do was to arrange for an exchange of prisoners. The Scots stood out for good terms and got them. For the liberation of the Earl of Hereford they obtained the surrender of Bruce's Queen, Elizabeth, of his daughter Marjory, his sister Christina Seton, and his nephew Donald, the young Earl of Mar, together with the final release of Wishart the veteran Bishop of Glasgow. Again five Scottish barons were not thought too much to give for the freedom of John Segrave. Minor personages had to make arrangements with their captors.³

No question of any money grant was raised in the Parliament. 10,000 marks had been exacted from the clergy in July by way of loan.⁴ Futile efforts were now made to get in arrears of old scutages from the time of the late reign, and to enforce the illegal tallage of 1312. More effectual supplies were obtained by borrowing on the Continent.⁵

The Northern counties, and through them, eventually, the whole Kingdom suffered from Edward's obstinacy in refusing peace. The autumn and winter were marked by a series of devastating Scottish inroads. The local authori-

¹ Lanercost, 228; Parly. Writs, II. i. 431.

² "La chose du monde qu'il plus desire;" Foed. II. 254.

³ Foed. II. 251, 253, 255, 257; Lanercost, 229; Trokelowe, 87. The other captive ladies, Mary Bruce and the Countess of Buchan, had been already released; Foed. 105, 209.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 78.

⁵ Foed. II. 256, 258, 259; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 83-85. For the failure of the attempt to get in old scutages see the long list of writs of exoneration, Parly. Writs, II. i. 437, &c.

CHAP. V

1314

ties, left entirely to their own resources, were obliged to pay heavily for mercy. The See of Durham gave Randolf a bond for 800 marks, for a truce to the 20th January 1315; Cumberland yielded a tribute of 600 marks; Tynedale submitted bodily, and did homage to the King of Scots. English bandits joined the invaders for the sake of plunder.¹ The destruction caused by these ravages was, after all, only local. But the whole of England was now beginning to suffer from a failure of crops caused by the advent of a cycle of rainy years. Prices which had begun to rise in 1313, rose rapidly towards the close of 1314, while with 1315 famine rates were reached.²

Dearth,

Three personages of royal rank passed away within the year (1314), John Balliol,³ Clement V, and his austere master Philippe le Bel. The first, a distinct political failure, left the fairest fame of the three. Not an unworthy act was ever brought home to King John. Clement died⁴ a man of lax life, rich in gold but poor in everything else.⁵ Rather than face a struggle with Philip and Nogaret he had deliberately sacrificed the Templars.⁶ Philip died on the 29th November "a worn out man" at the age of forty-six, after nine-and-twenty years of a reign the hardest and most oppressive that as yet had weighed on the land of France.⁷ The acquisitions of Bigorre, Montpellier, Valenciennes and Lyons were no doubt great gains for the kingdom; but his centralizing policy and fiscal exactions had destroyed the national life; while his triumphs over Boniface and the Templars had been obtained by the

Philippe le
Bel.

¹ Northern Registers, 232, 237, 239; Lanercost, sup.; Walsing. I. 142.

² Professor Rogers gives the average price of wheat for 1313 as 5s. 6d.; for 1314 as nearly 8s. 5d., and for 1315 as nearly 15s. the quarter; Prices, I. 196, 230.

³ On the 4th January 1315 Edward writes to Louis X, "Hutin," the new King of France, to pray for the admission of Edward Balliol, then in England, to the ancestral estates in Normandy; Foed. II. 260. In 1310 Edward Balliol appeared in England, and was kept as a state prisoner; Foed. 116. Louis succeeded in December 1314.

⁴ 20 April; the Holy See remained vacant two years and four months; H. Nicolas.

⁵ See Milman, V. 398. Clement was able to lend Edward 169,000 florins.

⁶ On this point see Lavissee, 186, and above.

⁷ Martin, France, IV. 511.

vilest and most execrable methods. He passed away in difficulty anxiety and disgrace. His last act had been to expose his three sons to the cynical contempt of Europe by blackening the reputations of their wives, princesses of the highest rank. All three had been suddenly arrested on charges of misconduct, based on confessions of complicity extorted by torture, the men who "confessed" being afterwards tortured to death with every refinement of cruelty. But France could stand him no longer; his last hours were harassed by the uprising of a league of barons and burghers united in opposition to his tyranny.¹

The year 1315 opened under circumstances more gloomy perhaps than any that had been witnessed since the days of the Barons' War. The Scots, not content with ravaging the North, were preparing to invade Ireland. Troubles were again brewing in Wales; while the famine had fairly set in, leading to sickness and mortality among men and beasts.²

Gloomy
Days.

On the 20th January a full general Parliament met at Westminster, and sat till the 9th March.³ An attempt was made to relieve the general distress by fixing a maximum for prices of meat. The highest allowed for the best fat ox, not fed on grain is 16s.; 24s. if fattened on grain. Forty pence is the most that may be charged for a pig two years old; twenty pence for a fat sheep with its wool, fourteen pence for one without its wool.⁴

In the wretched personal struggle—for such it was—Lancaster was still "top dog". Accordingly Despenser was again removed from the Council, and Walter Langton with him. Regulations for the King's household were also drawn up and he was put on a paltry allowance of £10 a day.⁵ In consideration of these 'reforms', subsidies

Subsidies
voted.

¹ Martin, 508-513; also Lavisé, III. 212, who would ascribe the initiative in the attack on the princesses to Queen Isabelle, but she has enough to answer for without that.

² Lanercost, 230; Foed. II. 260, 262; Mon. Malm. 211, 214; Ann. Lond. 236; Ann. Paul. 278; Bridlington, 48; Trokelowe, 91, 92.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 137, 139, 149.

⁴ Rot. Parl. I. 295; Foed. 263, 266.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 209. The late King's expenditure was £14,000-£15,000 a year, and he was an economical man. See Dawn.

CHAP. V

1315

Ordinances
confirmed.

were voted, on terms. The counties gave a Twentieth, the boroughs a Fifteenth, the clergy a Tenth. The grant of the clergy was made upon the express condition that the money should be collected by ecclesiastics, and applied under the direction of Parliament to the needs of the Commonwealth. The laity joined in requiring a confirmation of *Magna Carta* and of the Ordinances; they also demanded a perambulation of the Forests.¹

The Petitions to Parliament were very numerous, and interesting as showing the national assembly as a supreme court of appeal, open to all suffering from injustice or oppression.² But again we hear of prevalent confederacies for interference with the course of justice³—somewhat like the outrages that provoked the Trailbaston Ordinances of 1305.

The spring and summer were spent in efforts to raise forces to resist the Scots, the exertions of the government being baffled by the pressure of the famine, and the sullen opposition of the Earl of Lancaster, whose influence was still in the ascendant. In June Bruce and Douglas again sacked Hartlepool; a month later they laid an unusually vigorous siege to Carlisle (July 22–August 1). Every day a regular assault was made on one or other of the three gates of the city, and some days on all the three at once. All known modes of attack were resorted to; bombardment, attempts at escalade, mining, and the building of a wooden tower (*berefrei*) on wheels; but the ponderous machine stuck in the mud, and could not be brought to bear on the walls. On the eleventh day the approach of a relieving force sent the Scots flying homewards. But meanwhile Allerdale and Copeland had been ravaged.⁴

¹ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 89, 92. Orders for a perambulation were issued 10th May; Id. 90. See also a proclamation of the 11th June against Purveyance and requisitions of goods and cartage in general; and especially confirming the provisions of the Statute of Westminster the First (3 Edw. I) for the protection of the clergy from the quartering of persons on them, with remedial measures; Ann. Lond. 234.

² Rot. Parl. I. 287–333.

³ Id. 289. For a private war in Powys between John of Charlton and Gruffudd son of Gruffudd, son of Gwenwynwyn, see Rot. Parl. I. 355.

⁴ Lanercost, 230–232; Heming. II. 294.

Under the alarm created by the attack on Carlisle, Edward, still unable to help himself, was driven to appoint Lancaster Chief Captain of the forces in the North,¹ recalling the appointment of Pembroke, who had been named Chief Warden (*Custos*) only in June. Lancaster's position had been enhanced by the break-up of the Gloucester estates. Earl Gilbert III left no issue, and the great inheritance fell to his three sisters as co-heiresses.² Then in August, just after Thomas's advancement to the supreme command, Guy Earl of Warwick passed away,³ young in years but a man of culture and weight in public estimation;⁴ his disappearance left Lancaster without a rival among the lay baronage.

The Welsh disturbance did not come to much, though it gave a good deal of trouble. It arose out of the refusal of one Llewelyn Bren, an influential Welshman, who had held high office in Glamorgan under the late Gloucester, to surrender his authority to Payn Turberville, the man appointed by the King to take charge of the district which was still in hand. "Bren" laid his case before the King, but Edward would not listen to him; whereupon he flew to arms; attacked Caerphilly Castle, burned the outer ward, and committed extensive ravages, retiring with his booty to the Brecknock hills. The affair was a fire of straw, but the nervousness on the subject of Welsh risings was such that all the March lords from the Earl of Hereford to the Justiciar of Chester were called out to reduce the doughty chief to submission.⁵

¹ 8 August, Parly. Writs, II. i. 454, 457.

² Gloucester's sisters were (1) Eleanor, married to the younger Despenser; (2) Margaret, widow of Gaveston, remarried to Hugh of Audley; (3) Elisabeth, widow of John de Burgh (son of the Earl of Ulster), remarried to Theobald of Verdon. He was destined to pass away in 1316, and in 1317 Elisabeth would finally have to marry Roger of Amory. Complete Peerage, "Gloucester" and "Clare". The estates were not apportioned till 1317.

³ 10 August, Complete Peerage; 12 August, Doyle, Official Baronage.

⁴ "Homo discretus et bene litteratus per quem regnum Angliae sapientia praefulgebat." Chron. London, 236; Mon. Malm. 212.

⁵ 1315-1316. Parly. Writs, II. ii. 460; Mon. Malm. 215. Glamorgan was eventually assigned to the younger Despenser in right of his wife, Eleanor of Clare; Dugdale, Baronage.

CHAP. V

1315

Adam
Banaster.

All-powerful as the Earl of Lancaster seemed to be, he had suddenly to contend with a domestic rising, directed against himself. Adam Banaster, one of his household knights, being under a charge of homicide, and despairing of obtaining pardon in the ordinary course of things, as a desperate expedient to earn the King's favour rose against his lord the Earl, ravaging his possessions in Lancashire. Banaster was said to have gone the length of displaying the Royal Standard, calling out men. Thomas, however, took prompt measures. A pitched battle was fought between his men and Banaster's following, in which the latter were defeated and scattered. Adam sought for concealment in a barn, where he was discovered. Refusing to surrender he was cut down and killed, and his head sent to the Earl.¹

Parliament. On the 28th January 1316 a general Parliament met at Lincoln; when Lancaster, carrying all before him, fairly "wrested the reins altogether from Edward's hands".² The session was opened by the King in person. He called the attention of the lieges to the state of relations with Scotland; but as the great Earl had not yet appeared, pending his arrival he directed them to busy themselves with private petitions and matters of secondary importance. *Articuli cleri* presented by the clergy, and complaints from the people of Wales were taken in hand, and conciliatory answers given to both.³

On the 12th February Lancaster at length made his appearance. After three days of overt debate and two more of covert intrigue, John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, addressing the Earl in Parliament in the King's name, said that 'to remove doubts' it was the King's will that he, Thomas, should be the Chief of his Council (*Chief de son conseil*), and in the name of the King and that of the bishops and magnates there present he begged of him to undertake the burden of the office. Lancaster took time to consider, and then accepted upon the following condi-

¹ Mon. Malm. 214, 215; November, Ann. Lond. 236; Bridlington, 49.

² Bp. Stubbs.

³ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 156; Rot. Parl. I. 350; Northern Registers, 253.

tions. First, that if the King should neglect the advice of the Council in matters touching his household or the realm, the Earl should be at liberty to 'discharge himself' without incurring ill-will; secondly, that the Council should be consulted in all matters touching the realm; and lastly, that any members of the Council who should give advice 'prejudicial' to the realm should be removed at the next Parliament, 'by the advice of the King and the Earl.'¹

With the control of the civil and military administration of the country in his hands, Thomas now occupied a more commanding position even than that enjoyed by de Montfort in 1265. Simon was only one of Three, and besides them he had a Chief Justiciar as partner in authority. Lancaster had neither co-triumvir nor joint Justiciar to consult; nor was he exposed to the odium of being seen dragging about a captive King, while he had his own King just as effectually bound in constitutional fetters.

Bishop Salmon was further commissioned to announce that the King, confirming the concessions of the previous year, would cause the Ordinances to be duly kept, and would respect the perambulations of his father's time.² In the hope that the affairs of the country had at last been placed on a sound basis Parliament made liberal grants; the burgesses gave a Fifteenth, while the magnates and knights of the shire (*communitas*) granted the service of one 'defensible' man from each rural township (*villa*), to be equipped and maintained for sixty days of actual service in the field against the Scots, at the cost of the township.³

On the 29th July an adjourned session of county knights was held, also at Lincoln, when the grant of the defensible men was commuted for a Sixteenth.⁴ The clergy had

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 157; Rot. Parl. I. 351, 352. The appointment of Lancaster was not entered on the regular roll, but only on a schedule tacked to it.

² Rot. Parl., sup. For the Ordinances see the proclamation of the 6th May, Foed. II. 287; and for the perambulations, Parly. Writs, II. i. 158, 160, and ii. 99; Reg. Pal. Dunelm. 1114, 1183.

³ Rot. Parl., sup.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. i. 169; ii. 104.

CHAP. V

1316

intimated their willingness to make a grant if they were allowed to vote the money in Convocation. Under some pressure, and after the issue of repeated writs, the clergy of the Southern Province granted a Tenth on the 11th October, and their brethren of the Northern Province followed suit on the 23rd November.¹ In return for this bounty, on the very next day, November the 24th, the King passed the *Articuli Cleri*; answers to these had already been given in Parliament, they were now confirmed by way of a Concordat. By this *Concordat* between Church and State the relations of the spiritual and temporal courts were finally settled, the exemption of the clergy from civil jurisdiction in criminal cases being fully recognized.²

Famine.

In the course of the year (1316) the famine reached its height. The mistaken ordinance of the previous year limiting the price of meat was withdrawn in the Lincoln Parliament, the effect of the measure having simply been to prevent supplies being brought to market.³ Another futile ordinance issued in August 1315 was one regulating the number of dishes to be allowed at table in different ranks of society.⁴ But all households had already been reduced to a minimum, and hall and castle cleared of useless mouths. Disbanded retainers roamed through the land like beasts of prey. In the same month of August when the King paid a visit to St. Albans sufficient bread for his retinue could hardly be bought.⁵ After harvest some relief was experienced, but the grain was imperfectly ripened and innutritious. By Easter 1316 the distress reached its height and the mortality with it. Horses and dogs were said to be eaten in Northumbria.⁶ Prices of course ruled very high, wheat averaging 16 shillings the quarter. "But the averages fail to give a true impression of the scarcity as in places as much as 20 shillings and 26 shillings was paid for a quarter of wheat." "Altogether . . . at no time

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 158; ii. 107, 109; Wake, *State of the Church*, 269 Mon. Malm. 225.

² Wake, *sup.*; Statutes, I. 171-176; Bp. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 356.

³ Foed. II. 286; Ann. Lond. 237.

⁴ Foed. 274; Trokelowe, 93.

⁵ Trokelowe, 92, 93.

⁶ Mon. Malm. 219.

in English history has a dearth of such magnitude occurred ”¹ as during the two years 1315 and 1316, nor was there much relief till the autumn of the following twelvemonth. The scarcity was not local but universal, Ireland and France being similarly affected.

Hitherto Lancaster had had the simple part of opposition and obstruction to play. Now he had to take the lead, and his utter unfitness to profit by the opportunity at once became manifest. His backwardness was such as to lay him open to the imputation of actual treason to his country. On the other hand Edward could now block his way just as he hitherto had blocked Edward’s way. In June the Scots had made their usual invasion, penetrating as far as Richmond, and thence making their way across the whole North Riding to wreck the ironworks of Furness, a district hitherto unvisited.² The forces of the country, originally summoned for the 8th July, are adjourned to the 10th August. On the 20th of the month Edward, being at York, announces an intention of pushing farther North (the Scots having gone home); and orders the Earl ‘on his fealty and homage’, and under penalty of utter forfeiture, to present himself at Newcastle by the 6th October.³ Bowing to this threat Lancaster appeared at Newcastle. But when the King was called on to join forces with a view to a further advance, Edward, standing on his dignity, said that he could not be expected to follow the lead of a subject, and so remained at York. Lancaster, afraid of leaving the King free to act behind his back, at once turned southwards. ‘Neither would trust the other.’⁴

Again it was noticed that the Scots in their incursions had made a point of sparing Lancaster’s estates, evidently regarding him as a covert or possible ally, while in England it was suspected that he would rather connive at their incursions than do anything that might strengthen the

Lancaster
and the
Scots.

¹ See Rogers, Prices, I. 198, 230. Salt rose more than any other article, viz. from 4d. to 1s. 4d. the bushel.

² Lanercost, 232, 233.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 461, 466, 476, 478.

⁴ “Neuter enim de alio confidebat;” Lanercost, 233.

CHAP. V

1316

King's hands towards exacting the inevitable penalty for the blood of Gaveston.¹

The year 1317 exhibits the same disorganization, with aggravated features. Whatever the King wishes to do the Earl's men oppose; whatever Lancaster suggests the King's followers denounce as rank treason. But the ultimate responsibility for this state of affairs in the writer's view plainly lay with the King and his advisers.²

In March writs were issued for a Grand Council to meet at Westminster; the King having intimated that he could not be present, and that the Council would be opened by commissioners, Lancaster withheld his attendance also.³ In May the usual writs of military summons began to be issued, to be renewed, with successive adjournments, from time to time, down to the 24th September, when under the most humiliating circumstances the King was forced to disband his men,⁴ as we shall see.

In his distress Edward had been turning to the Papacy, the usual resource of a weak King. Clement V had lent him 169,000 florins (£56,333 6s. 8d.)⁵ on a mortgage of all the revenues of Aquitaine.⁶ Addressing himself to Clement's successor John XXII,⁷ Edward, as the most effectual mode of appealing to Papal sympathy, suggested the possibility of his embarking on another Crusade, and was at once rewarded with a grant of a subsidy from the pockets of the English clergy, viz. the proceeds of the first

¹ Mon. Malm. 222, 224. The writer thought the Earl half justified "*jure naturali propriæ salutis consulere*." Bishop Stubbs suggests that probably "both parties intrigued with Robert Bruce"; Const. Hist. II. 357.

² Mon. Malm. 223, 224. See also the incident given by Trokelowe, 98, an actress riding into Westminster Hall during the Whitsun banquet, and presenting to the King a letter of remonstrance on his unworthy favourites.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 170; Mon. Malm. 228.

⁴ See Parly. Writs, II. i. 487-500; and below.

⁵ The florin was = half a mark, 6s. 8d., with as much gold as a modern half-sovereign.

⁶ Foed. II. 303, 309, 322.

⁷ Cardinal Jacques d'Euse, a native of Cahors, of humble origin, was elected Pope on the 7th August 1316, and crowned on the 5th September, under the style of John XXII; H. Nicolas.

of six years' Crusade Tenths voted by the Council of Vienne.¹ An embassy commissioned to congratulate the new Pope on his accession, and laden with gifts,² was instructed to ask for help against Bruce on the one hand, and for help against the King's own subjects—i.e. a Bull to relieve him of his oaths to the Ordinances—on the other hand.³ The Pope withheld the dispensation, but issued letters proclaiming a two years' cessation of hostilities between Edward and 'Robert Bruce styling himself King of Scotland';⁴ all infringing the truce to incur the penalty of excommunication.⁵ The duty of enforcing the truce, and of negotiating for an ulterior peace, was entrusted to the Cardinals Gaucelin d'Euse and Luca dei Fieschi; with special powers for dealing with Bruce.⁶ The Eminent pair having duly reached England, writs were issued for a Grand Council, to be held at Nottingham on the 18th July, for their due reception in audience.⁷ Lancaster again refused to attend, the plea this time being that the questions to be discussed involving peace or war were matters for the consideration of a full Parliament.⁸

¹ Foed. II. 303, 319, 320.

² The embassy included the Bishops of Ely (John Hotham) and Norwich (John Salmon), the Earl of Pembroke and Bartholomew of Badlesmere; Pembroke on his return was arrested at Étampes by a French knight who had pecuniary claims on Edward. See Edward's letter of complaint to Philip V (*Le Long*), Foed. II. 329; Scalacr. 144; Louis X, *Hutin* (i.e. quarrelsome, "rowdy"), died 5 June 1316, leaving a daughter, Jeanne. His brother Philip seized the crown, proclaiming the so-called Salique Law, and got himself hallowed at Rheims 9 January 1318. By the letter above cited Edward recognized Philip as King, an important fact in connexion with later pretensions to the French Crown. See Martin, France, IV. 529-534.

³ Mon. Malm. 227.

⁴ "Se gerentem pro Rege Scotiae."

⁵ January 1317, Foed. II. 308, and again 320, 321.

⁶ Foed. 317, 318. About the same time the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin were directed to deal with Edward Bruce for his attack on Ireland; 320, 321. Of Edward Bruce in Ireland we tell below.

⁷ Parly. Writs, II. i. 171.

⁸ See his remarkable letter to the King in Latin, Bridlington, 50; in French, Murim. 271. To the King's complaint as to the number of retainers that he kept, Thomas has the apparently simple answer that the men had been armed in obedience to the King's writs; he adds that he will be ready to march when the King marches. See also Mon. Malm. 228.

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1317

Profiting by the Earl's absence Edward obtained from the Magnates a grant for a year of extra Customs duties on all commodities. Three weeks later the order had to be rescinded.¹ But the King was not baffled after all. A little later he obtained from an assembly of merchants, native and foreign, leave to exact a double duty on wool for one year, to be treated as an advance (*mutuum*).²

Lancaster's contumacy in refusing to obey the King's summons to the Council was hotly taken up by the King's advisers, who insisted that the contempt amounted to high treason, and should be dealt with accordingly. Prudent men pointed to the practical difficulties in the way of laying hands on a man who could command the resources of five earldoms, and moreover reckon on support from Scotland, and possibly from Wales also. As a final attempt at an understanding a personal meeting was suggested.³ The proposal, like others of the same sort, came to nothing.

Scandal in
"high
life".

In fact the situation had been embittered by a scandal which led to a private war between Thomas and the Earl of Surrey, and nearly ripened into war between Thomas and the King. On the 6th May the Countess of Lancaster, *née* Alice de Lacy, had "eloped from her unfaithful husband", to find a protector at Reigate in Earl Warenne. The abduction was supposed to have been arranged "by the contrivance or with the connivance of the King".⁴ Of course the two Earls went to war at once.⁵ When the personal meeting was proposed Lancaster's followers insisted that foul play was to be feared; and he himself refused to come except under safe-conduct.⁶ The King was at York waiting for forces ordered to meet him there;

¹ Nottingham, 24 July; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 115, 117.

² See H. Hall, Customs, II. 183, and below.

³ Mon. Malm. 229.

⁴ Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 358; Trevet, Cont. 20. The latter writer thought that the elopement had been arranged at a Council, apparently one held at Clarendon, on the 9th February; Parly. Writs. See also Bridlington, 54; and Mon. Malm. 228.

⁵ Congregations in arms forbidden, 28 May, Foed. II. 332. See also above Edward's complaint of the number of Lancaster's retainers.

⁶ Mon. Malm. 228, 229.

the Earl was at Pontefract; he had just captured Surrey's Yorkshire castles, while a force in his interest had actually seized Knaresborough, a royal castle.¹ His command of the fords and bridges over the Aire and Calder enabled him to arrest the passage of troops and munitions from the South.² Thus the King at York found himself in a position of complete isolation, with Lancaster posted in his rear, and the North Country overrun by Lancastrian guerrillas, in whose hands even a Papal mission proved not to be safe. Once more the King was forced to swallow his mortification and make 'peace'. On the 24th of September he disbanded his levies, as already mentioned, agreed to call a Parliament to Lincoln for the 27th January 1318; and in the meantime issued letters of protection for the Earl and all his followers to last over the session of Parliament. The Earl withdrew his guards from Pontefract Bridge; and the King was allowed to commence his march to the South. On nearing Pontefract the sight of his enemy's flag proved too much for him: he called his men to arms and would have led them to an immediate assault. Pembroke and the Cardinals held him back. Lancaster, from the Castle wall, witnessed the incident. Amidst the jeers of the Lancastrians the baffled monarch rode through the streets of Pontefract.³ Thomas had already sinned beyond forgiveness; but if there had been any chance of reconciliation in the future, after this incident it was gone.

Ill had it fared with the Cardinals in their efforts to accomplish their mission of peace. Feeling their way cautiously about the end of August they sent forward Peter Bishop of Corbeil and one Master Aymery, to see King Robert and arrange for an audience for the Cardinals. On the question of peace Bruce expressed himself most willing, and anxious to see it established. With respect

¹ Foed. II. 345.

² Mon. Malm. 230; Trevel, Cont. 23. The war between the two Earls was still going on in November; Foed. 345.

³ 1 or 2 October. See Parly. Writs, II. i. 171; Mon. Malm. 230; Trevel, Cont. 23; Foed. II. 479. The hooting of the King formed a special count in Lancaster's later indictment.

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1317

to the audience he said that he could give no answer without consulting his Barons, inasmuch as he was not addressed by his proper regal style; his Barons were in various quarters, and he could not hold out any prospect of an answer before Michaelmas. Meanwhile he listened to the Pope's open letters exhorting to peace, but refused to receive or notice closed letters addressed to 'Robert Bruce holding rule in Scotland'; there were several men of the name holding rule there, he said, and he could not decide which of them was meant. In vain the envoys offered to explain. Bruce dismissed them with a gracious smile, and expressions of all due reverence towards the Holy See.¹

Hoping, perhaps, somewhat against hope for an audience at Michaelmas, the Cardinals left the court at York, to perform on the way to Scotland a minor duty confided to them, viz. that of consecrating Louis of Beaumont, brother of the King's favourite Henry of Beaumont, who had been appointed to the See of Durham.² But the North country was overrun with gentlemen brigands who kept the land in terror. On the 1st September the mission was arrested at Ferryhill, between Darlington and Durham, by Gilbert of Middleton, a knight of good position and a leading brigand. The two Beaumonts were carried off to Mitford Castle, Middleton's seat, for ransom, but the Cardinals were allowed to "pay their footing", and go on to Durham with a reduced escort. The outrage created an immense sensation. Proclamations to all the sheriffs in England for the arrest of the offenders were immediately issued

¹ See the Cardinals' report to the Pope, dated 7 September; Foed. II. 340.

² Beaumont had been 'provided' by John XXII (Foed. II. 313). He is described as an unprincipled spendthrift, a layman, a cripple, and wholly illiterate. He was eventually consecrated in March 1318 (Reg. Sacr.). After careful preparation in the passages in the service that he had to read, the word "*metropoliticae*" proved too much for him; 'Take it as read' (*Seit pour dit*), he said gracefully to the Chapter. "In aenigmate" gave him equal trouble; he almost lost his temper. 'No gentleman would write such words' (*Par seynt Louis il ne fu pas curiels qui ceste parole tcl escrit*), Greystanes, Angl. Sacr. I. 757, 761. In 1321 Edward writes to the Pope to pay Louis' debts, incurred no doubt in part by the Scottish inroads; Foed. 441.

Private revenge supplemented the resources of the law. The friends of men whom Middleton had seized for ransom put their heads together, captured him, and sent him up to London, where he was executed as a traitor.¹

The Cardinals' efforts to bring Bruce to terms failed utterly; he was as willing and anxious for 'firm peace' as ever, but could not treat till he was duly recognized as King.² Under these circumstances, the Cardinals being unable to induce the parties to accept their mission had to fall back upon spiritual coercion and Church censures. On the 27th November they proclaimed their Papal truce at the Cross of St. Paul's; while next day Archbishop Reynolds and his suffragans, in full pontificals, fulminated an excommunication against all who should venture to infringe it.³ An attempt to serve notice of the Papal truce through Adam of Newton, Warden of the Franciscans at Berwick, failed equally. Bruce refused to receive the Bulls and letters tendered to him, as not being properly addressed. Adam then made a desperate attempt to proclaim the truce by word of mouth, whereupon he was attacked, his Bulls and letters taken from him, and he himself stripped of his clothing and sent back to Berwick in sorry plight.⁴

The winter of 1318 again opened amid general helplessness, confusion and intrigue. In November Roger of Amory, the husband of one of the Gloucester heiresses, signed a bond of confederacy under a penalty of £10,000, binding him to act with Pembroke and Bartholomew of Badlesmere, "a bitter enemy of Lancaster", for establishing their ascendancy in the royal council-chamber.⁵ Apparently they hoped to establish a middle party between

¹ Foed. II. 338, 341, 342, 344; Northern Registers, 265; Trokelowe, 99-101; Scalacr. 144. The latter describes Middleton as master of all Northumberland, except Bamborough, Alnwick, and Norham, the latter held by the writer's father, Thomas Grey the elder. Middleton suffered 21 January 1318; Ann. Paul.

² See the Cardinals' report to the Pope, 7 September, Foed. 340; and the Pope's rehearsal of the facts, 362, 407.

³ Ann. Paul. 281.

⁴ 16, 17 December. See Adam's report, Foed. 351, and the Pope's recapitulation, 362, 407.

⁵ London, 24 November. Parly. Writs, II. ii. 120.

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1318

Lancaster and his adherents on the one hand, and the King, Dispenser and his other favourites on the other hand.¹ They would oppose Lancaster without making themselves responsible for the King's unpopular conduct. As for this, we find the Pope, well informed and deeply interested in English affairs, scolding Edward for his incurable folly, and telling him plainly that he was 'a mere Rehoboam'.²

Mutual distrust again rendered the meeting of Parliament impossible. A session summoned for the 27th January was adjourned to the 12th March.³ In anticipation of this latter session conferences were held at Leicester between the parties, the King being represented by the archbishop and others, and Lancaster by those 'of his council'. Sundry demands were put forward by Edward; but the Earl persisted in requiring 'full observance' (*plenaria observatio*) of the Ordinances; and in the face of his obstinacy the King's advisers took it on them to concede the point; Lancaster in return promising due fealty and submission to the King (*debitam fidelitatem et securitatem*); 'saving his complaint against Earl Warrene for the abduction of his wife'.⁴ To allow of the adjustment of details, at the special request of the mediating clergy the Parliament was again adjourned to the 19th June.⁵

Confer-
ences.

Meanwhile in the course of April conferences were held at Leicester. A detailed report that has been handed down exhibits Lancaster as in the most intransigent attitude. He insists on effect being given to every line of the Ordinances in their fullest issue. Not only does he

¹ Bp. Stubbs, *sup.*, 359.

² "Cum juvenibus et imprudentibus tractas regni negocia, et consilium venerandae maturitatis abjiciens per viam Roboam consilia juvenum secutus incedis," 21 December 1317. Epp. I. 460, Pauli. Later in the year John wrote to William of Melton, the newly appointed Archbishop of York, in perfect despair as to the state of England; 'he can only have recourse to prayer to God,' Northern Registers, 271, May 25, 1318. Melton was elected, at the King's request, and consecrated at Avignon 26 September 1216; T. Stubbs, *Decem Script.* 1730; *Reg. Sacrum*. William Grenefeld, Melton's predecessor, died 6 December 1315; *Ib.*

³ Mon. Malm. 233; Parly. Writs, II. i. 172, 175.

⁴ Mon. Malm., *sup.*

⁵ March, Parly. Writs, II. i. 178. Renewal of protection for Lancaster.

insist on the resumption of all grants of Crown lands made without the assent of Parliament, but he also demands the punishment of the recipients. To the protest of the bishops he calmly answers, 'The Ordinances require such to be punished.'¹ Coming to the practical question of his safe-conduct for a meeting with the King he is, naturally, very suspicious and exacting.²

But Thomas was reckoning without his host. The tide had turned. He had been tried and found wanting; he was no longer at the head of a strong baronial opposition. The baronage, ecclesiastical and lay, were rallying round the King. But Lancaster could not be brought to realize the fact all in a day, and his dull obstinacy could still bar the way. A few days before the last of the Leicester conferences the Scots had made themselves masters of Berwick, but not an attempt was made to retrieve the loss. Encouraged by this apathy they pressed on and on, and by the month of June were running riot in Yorkshire. Then the Government woke up; the Parliament summoned for the 19th was countermanded; and a general muster called for instead.³

Lancaster
losing
ground.

The Scots
advancing.

But a more fruitful measure was a change of Chancellor. Edward, dissatisfied with the management of the Lancaster affair by John Sandale the Bishop of Winchester,⁴ a man originally appointed by the Earl, took the Seal from him, giving it to John Hotham, Treasurer and Bishop of Ely,⁵ a tried diplomat. He was immediately sent down to confer with the Earl. A series of interviews followed, leading at last to a definite pacification, such as it was.

Pacifica-
tions.

¹ "Les ordinaunces voilent que ceux soient punis en parlement."

² See the full report, evidently authoritative, but undated, Knighton, Decem Script. 2535-2538. The conference should be identified with that given by Bridlington, 54, as of the 12th April. On the 29th March the Chancellor, Bishop Sandale, was going down to Leicester; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 122.

³ 8-10 June; Parly. Writs, III. i. 181, 501.

⁴ Consecrated 31 October 1316. He had previously been Treasurer, and later in the year became Treasurer again; Stubbs.

⁵ Consecrated 3 October 1316; Reg. Sac. Hotham had been a *protégé* of Gaveston, and held office in his household. He had been on missions to the Court of France, and again to Ireland; Foss, Judges, III. 444.

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Lancaster had been brought to realize that an amnesty for himself and his followers for their treasonable acts would be the most important concession that he could expect. The Ordinances, of course, would be confirmed, and effect given to them by the appointment of a standing Council mostly of the King's supporters, Lancaster's own weapon being thus turned against him. The terms must have been settled by the 31st July, when a pardon to Lancaster and his followers for all offences against the peace was proclaimed.¹ The final compact took the form of an indenture executed at Leek on the 9th August between the Earl as an independent potentate on one side, and the assembled Baronage on the other side. A standing Council to be appointed consisting of the Bishops of Norwich, Ely, Chichester, Salisbury, St. David's, Hereford, Worcester, and Carlisle; the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Richmond, and Hereford; and the Barons Hugh Courtenay, Roger Mortimer, John Segrave and John de Grey of Wilton, with a single banneret to be named by Lancaster; four of these with the Lancastrian banneret to be always in attendance: an absolute pardon to be granted to Lancaster and his followers for all felonies and trespasses committed down to the 25th July then past: the Earl in return to remit to such of the King's followers as should desire it all personal grounds of complaint, except as to Earl Warenne and those concerned with him in a certain trespass against the Earl: finally the Ordinances to be held and observed in all respects.² Among the guarantors for the King's observance of the treaty, besides the prelates and barons already named, we have the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, the King's two half-brothers Thomas and Edmund, the younger Despenser, Richard Grey of Codnor, Bartholomew of Badlesmere, and Ralph Basset of Drayton, all joining in.³ Of course nothing was said as to any resumption of grants or punishment of offenders. Five days later Lancaster met the King on a bridge over the river Soar, at Hathern near

¹ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 123, 124, 125.

² Rot. Parl. I. 453.

³ Leek; 9 August; Rot. Parl. I. 453.

Loughborough, and received the kiss of peace.¹ The two
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 Kiss of
 Peace.
 dined together, and the Earl gave a friendly reception to
 all the King's circle except Earl Warenne and the elder
 Despenser.² The pacification received a final confirmation
 by Parliament in a session held at York on the 20th October;
 and, in the course of the autumn, full pardons were made
 out for some 700 of Lancaster's followers, with David of
 Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl, at their head.³ Edward kept
 calling for men and talking of war all October: on the
 8th November he gave up the idea, and disbanded his men.
 We may note that in many cases he had only kept with him
 half the number of men originally called for.⁴

The York Parliament sat to the 9th December, and
 Legislation.
 passed an Act for the reform of judicial procedure, besides
 transacting a considerable amount of general business.⁵
 The younger Despenser became Chamberlain, and Badles-
 mere Steward of the Household, while provisions made by
 the King for them and Audley and Amory and others were
 confirmed.⁶ Lastly a general muster for the war against
 the Scots was agreed upon, the men to meet at Newcastle
 on the 10th June 1319.⁷

As already intimated the Scots had been very active
 Loss of
 Berwick.
 during the year. Early on the morning of the 2nd April
 Randolf and Douglas effected an entrance to the town of
 Berwick. Six days later the castle fell. Wark, Harbottle,
 and Mitford shared the same fate. Apart from a few
 outstanding castles, Northumberland to the very gates of
 Newcastle was at their mercy.⁸ In the course of May they
 pushed an even bolder inroad than any yet attempted.

¹ 14 August; Ann. Paul. 283; Bridlington, 55; and Knighton, c. 2534.

² Mon. Malm. 236.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 182, 184; ii. 126; Foed. II. 375.

⁴ Parly. Writs. II. i. 508, 510, &c.

⁵ Statute of York, Statutes, I. 177; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 126. The roll of the
 Parliament, omitted in the Rot. Parl., is printed by Cole, Records, 1-54. Muni-
 cipal officials holding "assizes" of bread and wine are forbidden to trade in
 the same articles.

⁶ Bp. Stubbs, sup., II. 360, citing Cole, sup.

⁷ Parly. Writs, II. i. 197, 210, 213.

⁸ Lanercost, 234, 235; Barbour, 385-392; Scalacr. 145.

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Their march reached as far South as Knaresborough. Northallerton and Boroughbridge were burnt on the way ; while the liberty of Ripon paid £1,000 for protection (1 June). From Knaresborough the raiders turned westward up Wharfedale, plundering Otley, Bolton, and Skipton in Craven.¹ The course of Edward Bruce's expedition to Ireland must be reserved for another chapter.

¹ Lanercost, *sup.* ; Northern Registers, 274-277. The assessment of the Yorkshire benefices had to be largely reduced ; *Id.* 279-282. "The retaxation marks the line of Scottish progress accurately" ; Stubbs.

CHAPTER VI

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1315-1318

Invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce.

A DISMAL episode, except as an exhibition of buccaneering adventure, was the attempt of Edward Bruce on Ireland. In May 1315, fired with the ambition of establishing himself as King of Erin, he sailed from Ayr with a considerable force, which included Thomas Randolph the Earl of Moray, Philip Mowbray, John of Menteith, the Stewart, and other men of renown. A landing was effected at Carrickfergus in the Lough of Belfast.¹ The King of Scots had doubtless been induced to sanction an enterprise of so hazardous a character partly in order to harass England in a vulnerable quarter, partly to find employment at a safe distance for a restless spirit whom he had created Earl of Carrick, and declared his heir, failing male issue of his own.² There always had been a considerable amount of intercourse between Scotland and Ireland; King Robert's Queen was a daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. After the reduction of the Isle of Man in 1313 Bruce had opened negotiations not only with O'Neill, Prince of Tir-Owen and other Ulster chiefs, but also with the Bissets, and the de Lacys of Meath, who were dissatisfied with their territorial position, and had not only offered the crown of Ireland to Edward Bruce, but actually written to the Pope on his behalf.³

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The Scots
in Ireland.

¹ Annals of Loch Cé, I. 563 (Rolls Series, No. 54, Henessy). The Annales Hiberniae in Camden's Britannia give the day of Bruce's landing as 26 May; Barbour, 321, &c.

² 26 April 1315. See Tytler, Hist. Scot. I. 329; Complete Peerage.

³ See J. T. Gilbert, Viceroys of Ireland, 132. The bulk of the old de Lacy inheritance had passed away through female successions to other families.

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1315

Advance
into
Louth.Driven
back to
Coleraine.

On landing Bruce effected a junction with O'Neill, dispelled an attack by the English settlers of East Ulster, and occupied the town of Carrickfergus, the castle holding out. The allies then fought their way South, through the counties of Armagh and Down to the Moyry Pass on the borders of Louth, and through it to Dundalk, which they took after a desperate resistance. Another successful engagement was fought at Carrickmacross (Monaghan), after which they took up a position at Ardee on the river Dee.¹ Hitherto they had only encountered Edmund Butler, the Justiciar of Ireland, with the forces at his command; and their successes were doubtless due partly to the fact that Butler was not an able commander, and that the real leader was Richard, a scion of the noble house of Clare;² partly also to the further fact that the Earl of Ulster disdained to serve under or co-operate with the King's chief officer. At last, however, realizing the gravity of the situation, 'the Red Earl,' as the Irish writers style him, came forward with an army recruited in Roscommon by the help of Phelim O'Connor (Phedhilm O'Conchobhair) King of Connaught (July). Advancing by Athlone through West Meath they drove Bruce back, step by step, to the extreme North of the Island. There the latter is described as halting on the West side of the river Bann, and breaking down the bridge at Coleraine, to check the advance of the English. 'And the Foreigners (Gaill) on this hosting spared neither Saint nor shrine, however sacred, nor territory nor termon, without wasting and completely destroying . . . from Sinainn in the South to Coleraine in the North.'³ With 'the rapid fierce Bann between them', the armies for a while were reduced to skirmishing, 'so that both parties left neither wood, nor plain, nor field, nor

¹ Annals of Loch Cé, I. 563; Annals of Four Masters, 505; Barbour, 325-330.

² See Barbour, 326, &c., who throughout treats Richard of Clare as the English commander, styling him King's Lieutenant, but wrongly of course. See also the King's thanks to the Irish, where he places Richard at the head of the list, before Butler, though by that time Edmund had been raised to the earldom of Carrick. Foed. II. 327.

³ Loch Cé, 565; Four Masters, sup.; Barbour, 333.

corn-crop, nor residence, nor barn nor church without burning and wholly destroying.' ¹

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But when in Celtic history did foreign invader ever fail to obtain encouragement and support from native faction? Phelim had a younger brother, Roderic (Ruaidhri). At the first suggestion of a Scottish alliance Roderic rose against Phelim—the ally of the English—ran riot through all the county from Sligo to Athlone, and finally got himself crowned King of Connaught, namely, at Carnfree, near Tulsk, in the county of Roscommon, “where the O’Conors were usually inaugurated as Kings” (August?).² Phelim and his chiefs hurried home to look after their interests. Deserted by their ally the English fell back on Connor (Lower Antrim); suffered a defeat there at the hands of the Scots (10 September); and then evacuated Ulster. Edward Bruce was then proclaimed King of Ireland, with his headquarters at Carrickfergus; but the citadel, with its access to the sea, still held out.³

Edward
Bruce pro-
claimed
King.

Ireland did not escape her share of the general famine, caused there, as elsewhere, by ‘destructive bad weather’. Emboldened by the accession of reinforcements, or pressed by hunger, we find Bruce again making his way down into Meath to spend Christmas with his friends the de Lacys, burning Kells on the way.⁴ On the 26th January 1316 they inflicted another defeat on Edmund Butler at Ardscoil, in County Kildare.⁵ The Leinster natives now came forward openly to make common cause with the invaders. The O’Tooles, O’Briens, and O’Carrolls took the field, and laid the three coast towns of Arklow, Newcastle and Bray in ashes. Bruce himself, having sacked the castle of Ley,

Bruce in
Leinster.

¹ Loch Cé, 567; cf. Barbour, 334, 336.

² Loch Cé, 567, 569 note Henessy, 554, 583.

³ Loch Cé, 669, 671; Four Masters, I. 505–507; Camden, sup., 511; Barbour, 335–344. Supplies for Carrickfergus ordered in Dublin 7 October. Historic Docts. Ireland, 334 (Gilbert).

⁴ Camden, Britannia, 810, 811.

⁵ Id.; Hist. Docts. 373, 374. The more important victims were buried at Athy. The Leinster men had been in communication with the Scots since October; Hist. Docts. 354, 372.

CHAP. VI

1316

and beleaguered that of Kildare, turned Northwards to encounter Roger Mortimer, who, having large estates in Meath, had come over on his own account to defend his property.¹ They met at Kells on the Black-water, where Roger was defeated and forced to fall back on Dublin.²

At home between the war with the Scots and the struggle with Lancaster, the hands of the Government were fully occupied; and the only step taken for the support of the loyal settlement in Ireland was the appointment of John Hotham, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, on a mission to confer with the natives, and to exhort the English to loyal and combined action.³ Of any success with the natives we hear nothing; but Hotham had a meeting in Dublin with a number of the leading settlers, and obtained from them a written declaration of unshaken allegiance to King Edward.⁴

The
English
colony
loyal.

Affairs
of Con-
naught.

The spread of the insurrection in the East of Ireland must be viewed in connexion with the state of affairs in the West, where the English, or those more particularly interested in the affairs of Connaught, were busy reinstating their friend Phelim O'Connor. At the battle of 'The causeway of Cainneadha's Bog', in the parish of Templetogether, County Galway, Roderic and the nationalists suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of Phelim and his mailclad auxiliaries. So Roderic fell and Phelim reigned again.⁵ Within six months' time we find Phelim vowing to expel all Foreigners from Erin, and slaughtering the very men to whose swords he owed his restoration. Doubtless he found the impulses of his subjects too strong to be controlled, and he himself was but a youth, three and

¹ Roger held a moiety of Meath in right of his wife, Joan, daughter and heiress of Peter de Geneville of Trim.

² Camden, sup.; Gilbert, Viceroy, 136.

³ September 1315; Foed. II. 276. Hotham had been on a similar mission in 1314; Id. 252.

⁴ 4 February 1316; Foed. 283. The man whose name stood at the head of the signatories, John Fitz Gerald, son of Thomas, and lord of Offaly, was immediately rewarded with the Earldom of Kildare; Gilbert, Viceroy, 137; Complete Peerage.

⁵ 24 February. Loch Cé, I. 583; Four Masters, I. 510, 511.

twenty years old. Anyhow he paid dearly for his change of policy. Richard Bermingham led an army into Galway, and on the field of Athenry inflicted sanguinary punishment on the fickle Gaeidhel. Thirty chieftains of name from Connaught, Munster, and Meath, with Phelim at their head, were left on the field.¹

Meanwhile the English were keeping up the struggle with the Scots and O'Neal in the North, the citadel of Carrickfergus holding out with a determination worthy of Ulster. From his raid in Kildare Bruce had returned to his head-quarters in the town of Carrickfergus, where he held a royal court "and administered justice". A truce was taken to last over Eastertide.² But in fact desperate fighting ensued notwithstanding. On Holy Thursday (8 April) reinforcements from Dublin reached the castle by sea. Profiting by this opportunity the garrison sallied, and fought the Scots in the streets of the town both on that day and again on Easter Eve, inflicting serious losses on their adversaries without improving their own position. The sanguinary episode ended with the fall of the English leader, Thomas Mandeville,³ a very gallant knight—

An Easter
truce.

"Ane knicht that of all Ireland
Was callit best and of maist bounte."

The mischance did not break the spirit of the garrison; they held on for five more months, and at the last only yielded to absolute starvation.⁴

By that time the Scottish King had come over to assist his brother. But the English appear to have scored a distinct success over them in Ulster (25th October⁵); which kept them on the defensive during the rest of the autumn.

Towards the close of the year if the reader should again inquire what of succour from the home Government, the answer would seem to be simply the publication of Papal

¹ 10 August. Loch Cé, 585-589; Four Masters, 511-515.

² Barbour, 344.

³ See the account in Camden's Annals from notes supplied by some one residing in Dublin at the time. See also Hist. Docts. 350; and the romantic tale in Barbour.

⁴ 12 September; Camden, sup., 813.

⁵ Id.

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Bulls against all persons giving trouble to 'our dear son Edward'.¹ So again the King could appeal to John XXII not to allow of the promotion of a native to the vacant archbishopric of Cashel, but to 'provide' an Englishman named by himself; or he could address himself to the Minister-General of the Franciscans calling on him to punish friars found guilty of urging the people to support the Scots.² At the very last, however, Edward and his Council were able to bestir themselves to the length of appointing Roger Mortimer to be warden (*custos*) and King's Lieutenant of Ireland, with the widest powers, so as to supersede the authority of Edmund Butler, Earl of Carrick.³ In the first week of January 1317 all Englishmen holding lands in Ireland were ordered to be ready at Haverford by the 2nd February to sail with Roger.⁴

Scottish
raid to
the South.

But before that day came the Bruces had mustered their forces for another grand raiding march to the South. The dreaded Moyry Pass was again crossed without molestation; but between that point and the river Boyne the invaders seem to have fought an action which was represented to Barbour as the 'hardest fighting' of all the war.⁵ Again victorious the Scots pushed on to Slane, where they crossed the river. On the 23rd February they occupied Castle Knock, within five miles of Dublin. At their approach the city had been thrown into a state of the greatest excitement. The walls were repaired, suburbs destroyed; even the church of the Friars Minors with its tower, which seemed to dominate the castle, was demolished. But the most signal act of civic vigour, and one which excited almost as much commotion in London as in Ireland, was the forcible seizure by orders of the Mayor of Dublin of the Red Earl, the great Earl of Ulster.⁶ He was arrested at St. Mary's Abbey near the city, after a desperate resistance, and carried off to the Castle, for fear of any collusive action

Alarm in
Dublin.

¹ Gilbert, *Viceroy*, 137.

² Foed. II. 294, 295.

³ Id. 301; 23 November.

⁴ Id. 309; Parly. Writs, II. i. 484.

⁵ pp. 362-366. But he misdates the action, placing it in May.

⁶ See Foed. 326, 327, Edward's demand for explanation, 23 April.

between him and his son-in-law, Robert Bruce.¹ But to lay siege to Dublin was an undertaking quite beyond the strength of the Scots. On the 25th February they moved up the Liffey to Leixlip; four days later they marched to Naas, while on the 12th March they reached Callan in the modern county Kilkenny. From Callan they moved by Cashel and Nenagh (Tipperary) to Limerick, "invited and conducted by their ally, Donagh O'Brien, King of Thomond, who had been expelled by a section of his clan."² Throughout their march the Scots and their allies spared nothing; they burned churches and houses of religion, and were even accused of violating the sepulchres of the dead in quest of treasures.³ The Shannon proved the turning-point of the expedition. Finding that the passage of the river at Castle Connell, near Limerick, would be disputed by an English force, supported by Mortogh O'Brien, Donogh's rival, the Bruces resolved to turn Northwards again. After two or three days' stay at Limerick, being advised of an intended attempt to intercept their retreat, a night march was resolved upon; the troops were beginning to move, when the Scottish King heard the cries of a woman in distress. He was told that a poor washerwoman, a camp-follower, had been seized with labour pains, and was in terror at being left behind. Robert at once "arestit his host"; ordered a tent to be pitched, and would not move on till arrangements had been made for the safety and comfort of the woman.⁴

Advance
to
Limerick.

Robert
Bruce's
pity.

From Limerick the Scots marched to Kells (County Kilkenny). The English were posted at Kilkenny; but they were unable to agree upon any plan of operations. Roger Mortimer had not yet come out; and he had sent orders in advance that nothing was to be done till he came. When he did land, a week later (7 April), it was to disembark at Youghal (County Cork), well out of the way. The invaders, therefore, were allowed to pass on

¹ Ann. Camden, sup., 814; Hist. Docts. 404-409.

² Gilbert, sup., 140.

³ Ann. Camden, sup., Hailes.

⁴ Barbour, 370.

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1317

Return to
Ulster.

unmolested to Kildare. At Trim they halted a few days, finally reaching Ulster early in May.¹

If we keep in mind the fact that the famine was still raging, this three months' raid, extending over 450-500 miles as the crow flies, must be pronounced a great performance, and a wonderful exhibition of endurance and hardihood. If the invaders had inflicted terrible ravages on the country, they too had suffered severely; many died of hardships and want: those who fared best lived on horseflesh.² On the other hand, the raid had done nothing to extend Bruce's sphere of influence; not a castle or town had been won.³ The natives, though loathing the presence of the English settlers, were still unable to combine in any really national movement for their expulsion, even when provided with such able leaders as Scotland had sent them.

The campaign over, King Robert returned to Scotland,⁴ his brother remaining in Ulster, content, presumably from sheer exhaustion, to keep to his own borders. Meanwhile Mortimer was exerting himself successfully to refit and repair damages. The Earl of Ulster was set free on condition of seeking no revenge against the men of Dublin; the de Lacys were summoned to answer for their treasonable conduct; failing to appear they were subjected to utter forfeiture, and driven into Connaught; sundry Leinster clans were reduced to subjection; while friendly relations were re-established with Connaught. In South Leinster and North Munster, however, reverses were suffered, the gallant Richard of Clare being defeated and killed by the O'Briens. But Mortimer was not allowed to remain in Ireland, being summoned to attend the autumn Parliament at York. At his departure the

¹ Ann. Camden, sup., 315; Gilbert, sup., 141, 142; Barbour, 371.

² Fordun, 347.

³ See Edward's letter of thanks of the 28th April 1317 to the municipal towns of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Ross, and Drogheda; to Uriel (Louth) and the royal boroughs of Trim and Kilkenny; Foed. II. 327. The other towns in Ireland were private property, governed by the lords to whom they belonged.

⁴ *Circa* 22 May; Lanercost, 234.

government of the Dominion was placed in the hands of Alexander Bicknor, the newly appointed Archbishop of Dublin, with the title of Justiciar.¹

Last raid
of Edward
Bruce.

Encouraged, perhaps, by Mortimer's recall, Edward Bruce undertook a fresh descent upon Leinster. The English took up a position to meet him "at the entrance of the pass from Ulster", between Dundalk and Faughard. They were probably superior in numbers and certainly in equipment, and commanded by John of Bermingham, a descendant of a family settled in Kildare. He had just been knighted by Mortimer for his services against the de Lacys. Bruce's advisers, Scottish and native, deprecated action, urging that he ought at least to await the arrival of reinforcements from Scotland, reported to be on the way. With characteristic recklessness he said that whatever the odds he would fight that day. The Irish allies declined to follow him. At the first charge Bruce's ranks were broken, the men fled, the leaders stood and died. Bruce was singled out by John Malpas of Drogheda. When the turmoil was over there lay Bruce and Malpas side by side, each killed by the other's hand; there also lay John of Soules and John Stewart.² The remnants of the Scottish force were taken home by a subordinate, one John Thomasson of Carrick.³ Bruce's corpse was not treated with the respect due to a fallen enemy; the head was sent to London; the four quarters were distributed in Ireland.⁴

Battle of
Dundalk.

Ulster was again left to its own devices.

Devastation on such a scale carried on at intervals over a period of nearly three and a half years could not fail of leaving their mark on the country. An ecclesiastical assessment of Ossory (Queen's County and most of Kilkenny) shows the tithes to have fallen in places to one-third of

¹ See Gilbert, *Viceroy*s, 142, 143; and *Hist. Docts.* 435.

² 14 October. *Ann. Camden*, 817; *Fordun*, 348; *Barbour*, 417-423; *Four Masters*, I. 520, 521; *Gilbert, Viceroy*s, 143, 147. For his services on the day *Bermingham* was created *Earl of Louth*; *Foed. II.* 393.

³ *Barbour*, 423-425.

⁴ *Lanercost*, 238. The fullest list of the slain is that given by the *Continuator of Trevet*, 29.

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1318

their former value. The *prestige* and influence of the English government were greatly reduced; while the losses suffered by the settlers enabled the native clans to reassert themselves. In Ulster, Leinster, and North Munster the Irish began to recover lands formerly wrested from them, while Connaught prepared to follow the movement.¹

¹ See Gilbert, 148, 149.

CHAPTER VII

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1319-1321

The War.—Ineffectual siege of Berwick.—“Chapter of Myton.”—Truce.—Homage rendered for French possessions.—Banishment of the Despensers.

THE year 1319 seemed to open in England under auspices more favourable than any that the reign had yet seen. An abundant harvest had once more brought cheap bread to the people.¹ With the attack on Ireland repelled, the Scots excommunicated, the King and Lancaster reconciled, and certain measures of reform promised and to a certain extent taken in hand, the country began to hope for better things in the future.² On the 6th May a general Parliament met at York, and sat till the 25th of the month. In consideration of the reconciliation of the autumn, and of the reforms in progress, the barons and counties gave an Eighteenth, and the boroughs a Twelfth.³ In the previous Parliament the clergy had been asked for a grant, but had refused to give except in Convocation. The Southern Province had been convened accordingly. But the bishops reported that even so the clergy could not give without the leave of the Pope. Adam Murimuth the historian therefore was sent to Avignon and obtained from John the requisite sanction for the grant of a Tenth.⁴

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1319

Parliament.

Subsidies granted.

¹ See Rogers, Prices, I. 199, 230.

² Bridlington, 56; Mon. Malm. 237, 238. In November fresh Perambulation Commissions had been issued; and again between January and April Commissioners for inquiring into cases of venality and oppression on the part of Judges and Royal Officers; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 133, 135; see also the instructions of the 2nd February to the sheriffs; Foed. II. 385; Mon. Malm. 389.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 197, 210, 213.

⁴ See Parly. Writs, II. i. 196; Murimuth, 30. The Convocation was originally summoned for the 3rd February, but was adjourned, and only met on the 20th April. Wake, State of Church, 271.

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1319

Siege of
Berwick.

The same apparent concord was exhibited when the levies agreed upon in the autumn gathered round Newcastle about the 22nd July. The proffers of service were satisfactory, even Lancaster condescending to appear.¹

In the course of August the troops were marched to the siege of Berwick. The recovery of Berwick was obviously a matter of primary importance, if only for the protection of the Northern counties. The town had been carefully armed and victualled for a siege, under the charge of Bruce's son-in-law, Walter Stewart, the future father of a long line of Kings. Besides his native troops, Stewart had the services of a Flemish free lance, John Crab, a military engineer of great repute.²

The English encampment on the landward side of Berwick covered, we are told, more ground than "baith town and castell" put together. "On the other half" the whole haven was "stoppit" with their shipping. On the 7th September the English gave their first assault.³ The height of the walls not exceeding a spear's length, they attempted to carry the place by direct escalade. The dramatic feature of the day was the advance of a ship with a boat and drawbridge slung mid-mast-high. Unfortunately the vessel grounded before she came within reach of the wall, and the whole assault failed.⁴ After a breathing space of five days, another vigorous assault was made, but without better success. The interest on this occasion, apparently, centred round the working of a huge 'Sow', that was pushed up to the walls as a cover for mining operations.

¹ See Parly. Writs, II. i. 515-525; Lanercost, 239; Barbour, 395; Mon. Malm. The King proclaimed free plunder at the expense of the Scots.

² Barbour, 393. English relations with Flanders had not been cordial for some years. Edward had complained of John Crab in 1313, and Count Robert had formally recognized Bruce within this year. See Foed. II. 202, 210, 389, 394. It is interesting to note that Barbour remarks that Berwick was not provided with "gynis for crakis", guns or cannon.

"For in Scotland than but wene
The us of them had nocht bene seen."

³ Barbour, 410; cf. a letter from Hugh le Despenser to an agent in Glamorgan-shire, printed by Mr. Stevenson in his notes to the Lanercost Chron., p. 422.

⁴ Barbour, 395-400; Lanercost, 239.

But the back of the machine was broken by the "vertical fire" of huge stones projected upwards from a catapult, like bomb shells, and dropped upon it. Amid the cheers of the Scots 'the sow farrowed', and her armed progeny bolted in all directions.¹

With the numerical superiority of the English, a continuance of such 'feloun fighting' would soon have brought the garrison to extremities; at the last assault every man was engaged on the walls. Women and children brought them food and supplies.²

But the concentration of forces round Berwick had left the Western Marches undefended. No sooner were the English fairly established round Berwick, than Randolph and Douglas once more crossed the Border, and without let or hindrance reached Boroughbridge, nearly capturing the Queen. She was removed to Nottingham only just in time.³

Counter-
raid.

On the 4th September Edward had word of the inroad, and issued writs for all Yorkshire to turn out under Archbishop Melton and the Chancellor, Hotham, now Bishop of Ely.⁴ The orders were obeyed with only too great alacrity. Emulous, perhaps, of the fame won by his great predecessor Thurstan on Cuttenmoor, Melton led a "lay" force of mingled citizens, priests, and men of religion, with very few military men among them, to intercept the Scottish veterans. On the afternoon of the 20th September the Archbishop found the Scots at Myton-on-Swale, in the angle at the junction of that river with the Ure, the two together forming the York Ouse. The English advancing by the main North road from York, on the East side of the Ouse, would have the Swale to ford. At the report of the advance of an enemy the Scots took post in two solid circular schiltrums, their usual formation to resist attack. When the motley character of the attacking force was

"The
Chapter
of Myton."

¹ Barbour, 407-412.

² Ib. 413.

³ Trokelowe, 103; Mon. Malm. 242. These writers assert that the Scots had treacherous information of the Queen's whereabouts; Ann. Paul. 287.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. i. 125; Hotham was consecrated Bishop of Ely, 3 October 1316; Reg. Sacrum.

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1319

descried they kindled fires of hay, to give the impression that they were in retreat, and so encourage the English to come on. When they were fairly across the ford the Scots broke their ranks, and springing to their horses, charged wildly, and all was over. The Mayor of York was left on the field: many were drowned in the Swale. Among the prisoners taken was William Ayreminne, Master of the Rolls, often called upon to act as a Keeper of the Seal.¹ The action gained the name of the 'White Battle' or the 'Chapter of Myton'.²

Edward
and
Lancaster.

The news of the reverse brought the siege of Berwick to a close. Edward himself, to do him justice, wished to stick to the work, but was turned from his purpose by the insidious counsels of Lancaster and his followers.³ To please them he divided his forces, leading part in one direction in pursuit of the raiders, while the Earl hunted for them with the rest of the army in another quarter. Between them the Scots got away safely by Brough and Stanmore. Public discontent at the whole *fiasco* became very bitter, and Lancaster's conduct was loudly denounced; men pointed to the fact that his estates were still being spared by the Scots; there could be but one explanation of his action; he must be in collusion with the enemy and probably in their pay.⁴

If Thomas's action was disloyal and treacherous, as beyond doubt it was, it may be said for him that he was acting in self-defence; and that he realized that he never had been and never could be forgiven; especially if, as was rumoured, the King during the siege had been ill

¹ See Lanercost, 239; Trokelowe, 103; Mon. Malm. 243; Barbour, 403-405; Raine, Northern Registers, XXVIII; Ann. Paul. 287.

² Foss, Judges, II. 317, from Weaver, and Barbour, sup.

³ So both the Malmesbury writer and Barbour, 414. On the other hand "Bridlington" speaks of mischief-making in the camp during the siege, and lays the whole blame on the King's inner circle, p. 57.

⁴ Lanercost, 239; Mon. Malm. 244-249; Barbour, sup. See especially the letter of the time from the younger Despenser to an agent in Glamorgan, in which he lays the whole blame of the abandonment of the siege on the Earl; Lanercost, notes, 422. Late in the century we shall find that the Scots considered that they owed something to the House of Lancaster.

advised enough to hint that when Berwick was won, his hands would be free for another job.¹

Not content with the spoils gathered in Yorkshire the Scots returned to the charge by the 1st November, destroying the winter's supply of food in the parts of Westmoreland and Cumberland that they had not been able to harry earlier in the autumn. Between the two visitations eighty townships were said to have been burnt or pillaged.²

But *bona fide* negotiations for a truce had at last been opened. Both Kings had special reasons for wishing for a suspension of hostilities. Bruce, with all his staunchness, evidently felt the weight of the ecclesiastical censures under which he laboured, and appreciated the risks to which they exposed him. The capture of Berwick, and other acts of war committed since the publication of the Papal truce in November 1317, had added fresh counts to the indictment against him, already sufficiently heavy; and in compliance with further orders from Avignon, the Cardinals Gaucelin and Luke, on the 3rd of September 1318, had proclaimed at St. Paul's that Bruce had incurred final sentence of excommunication for disregard of the Papal orders.³ Nor would it be too much to suppose that the shade of the stricken Comyn haunted Bruce even in his hours of prosperity. The Pope alone could conjure that spectre. Edward in opening negotiations had been obliged to ask for Papal leave even to treat with a man under ban of excommunication.⁴ As for the King's special motives, he had been summoned to render homage for Aquitaine and Ponthieu to his brother-in-law, Philip V, "*Le Long*," no homage having been rendered either to him or to his

Movement
for peace.

¹ Mon. Malm. 350; Bridlington, 57, blames the Royal circle.

² See the exemptions from the Eighteenth of the previous year, granted in consideration of the destruction, Parly. Writs, II. ii. 143. In the previous year Bishop Halton of Carlisle represented himself as almost destitute; Northern Registers, 282. See also the piteous letter from the men of Cumberland to the King, printed by Mr. Stevenson with the Lanercost Chronicle, p. 537.

³ Foed. II. 362, 408; Ann. Paul. 283.

⁴ Foed. 388, 391. See also Northern Registers, 309, for absolution of men who had held intercourse with Scotsmen.

CHAP. VII

1319

A truce
at last.

short-lived elder brother Louis "*Hutin*." A journey to France would be needed, as Philip refused to accept of homage by proxy;¹ and the King could hardly leave the country if war was raging. On the 24th October negotiations were opened, Bruce apparently making the first overture, and asking for a truce on behalf of the men of Scotland, thus waiving the question of his recognition. Bishop Hotham, Pembroke, the younger Despenser, and Badlesmere were the plenipotentiaries named by Edward.² On the 21st December a truce was agreed upon, to last for two years from Christmas, the "sufferance", as proclaimed by Edward, being taken between himself on the one part, and "Sire Robert Bruce" and his supporters (*ses aerdauntz*) on the other part. To provide for the observance of the armistice Conservators of the truce or Wardens of the Marches were appointed, the first instance of the institution of such officers.³ But while sheathing the carnal weapon, Edward, rather meanly, at this very time was pressing Bruce underhand with the sword of St. Peter. On the 8th January 1320 John orders the excommunication of 'Robert Earl of Carrick' for the murder of the Comyn, to be republished continually, and with every formality, until he shall have made amends—all at the request of King Edward.⁴

But the laity of Scotland now came forward to press for the recognition of their King as a national question, taking their stand on the recognition given by Boniface VIII in 1299.⁵ In April a Scottish Parliament was held at Arbroath, and on the 6th of the month a spirited but deferentially worded address to the Pope, worthy of comparison with the suppressed protest of the Lincoln Parliament of 1301, was drawn up, in the name of the lay community of Scotland. They appealed to the long list of favours justly

¹ Mon. Malm. 249. Louis X died in June 1316; see above, p. 85, note.

² Foed. II. 404, 409-411.

³ Foed. 412, 416; Lanercost, 240.

⁴ Foed. 412. See also the Papal indictment already referred to of the 17th November 1319; Id. 407.

⁵ See Dawn of Constitution, 471.

extended by Popes to Scotland, as to a land under the special protection of the brother of St. Peter; they insisted on Bruce's position as a lawful King by right of succession and assent of the people, and as the chosen supporter of national rights; finally they prayed that his Holiness would be pleased to admonish and exhort the King of England to suffer them to live in peace 'in that narrow spot of Scotland, beyond which we have no habitation'.¹

The Pope was so far moved by the appeal that he suspended the process against Bruce to the 1st April 1321, and also wrote confidentially to Edward urging the expediency of agreeing to a lasting peace.²

To make arrangements for the King's visit to France a Grand Council was held at York in January (1320). Lancaster was summoned, but again declined to appear, objecting, he said, to Parliaments held 'in chambers'.³ Several ministerial changes were made; John Hotham the Bishop of Ely was relieved of the Great Seal, being reserved for diplomatic missions, and John Salmon Bishop of Norwich became Chancellor instead; while Walter Stapledon Bishop of Exeter became Treasurer, *vice* Walter of Norwich.⁴

On the 19th June Edward embarked at Dover, met Philip at Amiens, rendered homage, was reinvested with Ponthieu, which had been taken into hand for delay in performance of homage, and after a month of feasting and revelry with his brother-in-law, returned to the port from whence he had sailed.⁵

Homage to Philip V.

On the 6th October a full Parliament was opened by the King at Westminster.⁶ The session lasted till the 25th October; a considerable amount of judicial business was

Parliament.

¹ Scotchchron. II. 275; Anderson, Independency of Scotland, Append. 11. The apparent abstention of the clergy would be due to Bruce's excommunication. In August (1320) a conspiracy in favour of William of Soules, grandson of an outside competitor of 1291, was discovered; Fordun; Barbour, 438.

² Foed. II. 431, 432.

³ "In cameris"; Mon. Malm., sup.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. i. 115; ii. 144.

⁵ 22 July, Foed. 426, 428; Murimuth, 32; Baker, 10.

⁶ Parly. Writs, II. i. 219.

CHAP. VII

1320

transacted and a statute was enacted, namely, that of Westminster the Fourth, "touching juries and sheriffs."¹

Jealousy of the Papacy was manifested by the refusal of Parliamentary sanction to gifts in perpetuity proposed to be made by the King to the brother and two nephews of the Pope.² No subsidy was asked for; the grant of another Crusade Tenth by the Pope having relieved the King of the need of asking for money.³

Under Henry III we were always in presence of the King; we found him perpetually intervening, and generally with mischievous results. Of his grandson we never hear anything, till from time to time an outburst of popular feeling brings to light what has been happening underground. Since the autumn of 1318 he had been his own master, affairs being managed for him by Pembroke, Badlesmere, and the two Despensers, and all seemed quiet and happy. But Edward was incapable of profiting by the lessons of experience. He had placed himself in the hands of the younger Despenser, who had taken Gaveston's place in his favour, and exercised the same mysterious influence over him that Peter did.⁴ The elder Hugh had been the King's steady supporter, and as such had been repeatedly denounced by Lancaster. The son had followed Lancaster till the autumn of 1318, when he was appointed Chamberlain, an office that he had held under the Lancaster administration;⁵ his reappointment therefore might be considered a concession to the Earl; but from that time Hugh appears as siding with the King. Till then father and son had kept in opposite camps, on the old baronial system. The son's change of politics evidently coincides in point of time with the declension of the Lancastrian star, and the King's recovery of power. As to the merits

The two
Despen-
sers.

The
Father.

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 219-221, 229; Rot. Parl. I. 365, &c.; Statutes, I. 180.

² Foed. II. 438.

³ Ann. Paul. 290; Murimuth, 32. The assessments of the Northern clergy had to be reduced in consequence of the ravages of the Scots; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 153.

⁴ "Regis rector ad instar Petri de Geveston;" Baker, 10; also Murimuth, 33.

⁵ Baker, 6.

or demerits of the two Despensers the writers of the time are not quite agreed. With respect to the father however the only special charges brought against him, even by a writer disposed to be critical, are severity as Chief Forester, and a greed (*cupidus*) of money and influence only too common to the statesmen of the time.¹ Others again extol him as 'one of the first men of the day in sense and probity',² and again, as a brave soldier and prudent statesman, brought down by over-attachment to a worthless son.³ On the facts the hostility to the father appears to have been purely political. Not so with regard to the son. The Son. The complaints of his conduct show that he had grossly abused the extraordinary hold he had gotten on the weakness of the King; that he had taken the management of affairs into his own hands,⁴ and unscrupulously used his influence for the furtherance of his own ends. His rapacity involved the crisis of the reign. He was, as already mentioned, husband of Eleanor, eldest of the Gloucester heiresses; Margaret the second sister, Gaveston's relict, being married to Hugh of Audley, while Isabella or Elizabeth, the youngest, was married to Roger of Amory. In 1317 partition of the great inheritance was made by arrangement among the parties, when Glamorgan fell to Despenser's share, while Audley received the town and castle of Newport, and the 'county' of Gwynllwg in our Monmouthshire, as part of his wife's "*purparty*"; some lands on the Wye being assigned to Amory, on account of his spouse's share.⁵ Despenser invaded the rights of both his brothers-in-law, and eventually made himself master of Newport and Gwynllwg; also of Thornbury in Gloucestershire which likewise had been assigned to Audley.⁶ But

He attacks
his
brothers-
in-law.

¹ Mon. Malm. 260.

² Bridlington, 87; Bp. Stubbs, Preface, lv.

³ Baker, 67.

⁴ See his letter of the 21st March 1321, printed by Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Eng. Hist. Rev. XII. 760, where Hugh writes as 'We'; also the reports from Gascony, all addressed to him; Delpit, Documents Français, 54-59.

The partition is given Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 3, Nos. 7 (Audley), 8 (Despenser), 9, 10 (Amory); cited W. H. Stevenson, Eng. Hist. Rev. XII. 756. For the marriages of the three ladies see above, p. 79, note.

⁶ See Hugh's letter above, 761, and note.

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he failed to oust Amory from Tintern. Again he induced the King to revoke in his favour grants made to Roger Mortimer.¹ A greater disturbance however was caused by proceedings in connexion with the palatine lordship of Gower, also coveted by Despenser, the possession of which would have placed him in a very commanding position in South Wales. Gower belonged to William of Braose, a man who, having outrun his means, had negotiated at different times for the sale of Gower to his son-in-law John Mowbray, to the Earl of Hereford, and to the two Mortimers. Despenser was said to have thwarted all these proposals. All this was sufficiently calculated to raise up enemies. But in 1319 Hugh ventured on a still rasher step. He obtained the King's consent to an inquest as to alienations of land made by de Braose or his ancestors without royal licence; thereby starting the doctrine that March lands, no more than other lands, could be alienated without the King's leave. In 1320 Mowbray took possession of Gower, under the arrangement with his father-in-law, whereupon Despenser ordered the lordship to be taken into hand, on the ground that Mowbray had entered without leave. The execution of the order was resisted by force, and successive commissions had to be appointed to inquire concerning lands alienated by de Braose without leave.

March
Lords in
arms.

This bold attack on the cherished 'March Customs' at once brought all the March lords into line in self-defence; while Lancaster was understood to lend them covert support, without openly committing himself to their proceedings.² Had he boldly joined them he might once more have got the better of Edward; as it was his conduct was at once base and weak.

The first "sough" of the coming storm might perhaps be traced in a petition presented in the October Parliament by the knights and burgesses complaining of illegal 'confederacies' for the disturbance of peace and justice.³ On

¹ M. Westm. III. 342 (Tintern MS.); Mon. Malm. 254.

² "Erat manus comitis Lancastriae cum illis"; Mon. Malm. 255.

³ Rot. Parl. I. 371.

the 20th January 1321 a commission based on this petition was appointed to inquire as to unlawful assemblies in Gower; while ten days later writs were issued to the Earls of Hereford, Arundel, and Surrey, with twenty-six others, forbidding them to attend a meeting at which matters touching the Crown were to be discussed.¹ In March the King found it necessary to pay a visit to the scene of the disturbances, the Despensers going with him, the end obviously being to enforce a forfeiture for Despenser's benefit.² On their way they heard that there was war on the March; and, from the letter of the younger Hugh already cited, we learn that he was preparing for hostilities with Hereford, Audley, and John Giffard of Brimfield.³ On the 28th of the month Hereford, the Mortimers, Giffard, and Thomas and Maurice of Berkeley were summoned to appear at Gloucester. Hereford answered the writ by a verbal message to the effect that he could not appear at Court so long as the younger Despenser was there. A further message suggested that Hugh should be placed in the keeping of the Earl of Lancaster. Edward refused to believe that such a message had been sent, till it was authenticated in writing; and then he gave the very proper answer that Hugh had been appointed Chamberlain in full Parliament at York, at which Hereford himself had been present; that no complaint had ever been preferred against him, and that it would be a very bad precedent to

¹ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 155; Foed. II. 442.

² Itinerary; Mon. Malm. 256. See the whole story with the references to the public records given in Mr. Stevenson's article, sup. Despenser eventually became lord of Gower, but not till July 1322; Id. Another illustration of Despenser's modes of acquiring property may be gathered from the letter of the 21st March 1321, above cited. In it Hugh expresses his satisfaction at hearing that an inquest just held at Exeter had found that Herbert du Marais or Marsh had been wrongly ousted from Lundy Isle by John of Wylyngton, as he, Hugh, wished to 'purchase' it. The next thing that appears is that in June 1322 Lundy is granted to Despenser on the forfeiture of John of Wylyngton, a rebel; p. 760. But what had become of Marsh and his rights? M. Westm. III. 344 gives de Braose as dying this year; but he was alive and negotiating with Despenser in 1324; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 253. He died in 1325 or 1326.

³ Eng. Hist. Rev., sup., 761 and 569. Breaches of the peace began in March; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 163.

CHAP. VII

1321

remove a minister without cause shown.¹ On the 9th April sentence of forfeiture was issued against Audley, while a little later the castle of St. Briavels was taken from Amory.² On the 13th April Hereford and others were again forbidden to muster in arms.³ The King advanced as far as Bristol. He would have drawn the sword if he could have reckoned on a sufficient following.⁴ Unable to quell the disturbances, he resigned himself to meeting his Estates; and from Bristol on the 23rd April issued writs for a Council to be held at Oxford on the 10th May to arrange for holding a Parliament; the Council was subsequently adjourned to the 15th May, at Westminster, and then the 15th July was fixed for the meeting of the session.⁵

War.

No sooner was the King's back turned than the confederate barons began to wreak their spite on the favourite, ravaging his Welsh estates in the King's name, storming his castles, and compelling his vassals to abjure all their obligations to him (May).⁶

Lancas-
trian Par-
liament.

On the 24th of the month Lancaster took a remarkable step, namely that of holding a private Parliament of his adherents at Pontefract, at which the Barons Multon, Furnival, Fitz Hugh, Percy, Fitz William, Fauconberge, and others sealed a league for mutual defence 'in view of the troubled state of the country'. To give greater weight to their proceedings Lancaster adjourned the assembly to meet again at Sherburn in Elmet on the 28th June, requesting the clergy of the Province to attend. Archbishop Melton duly came, with Louis of Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, and John Halton of Carlisle. The Earl of Hereford appeared to represent the March lords. Articles were produced in which Lancaster promised to co-operate in getting rid of evil counsellors and improper ministers, who had invaded the privileges of the magnates through

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 231, 232.² Id. II. ii. 158; Mon. Malm. 246.³ Parly. Writs, sup., 159.⁴ Mon. Malm. 258.⁵ Parly. Writs, II. i. 231, 232, 234.⁶ See Rot. Parlt. III. 361; Ann. Paul. 293; Mon. Malm. 256, 257; Murimuth, 33. The ravages began on the 4th May, when Glamorgan was invaded; Parly. Writs, sup., 161.

novel doctrines of forfeiture, special commissions against confederacies, commissions of *quo warranto* and the like. The clergy were specially requested to endorse the Articles. They retired to the house of the rector to consider their answer; returning to the church they said that in any measures for the defence of the land against the Scots they would gladly concur, on all other points they advised a reference to the impending Parliament.¹ The lay barons however committed themselves to an indenture pledging them to support the Earl of Hereford against the two Despensers.² Lancaster stipulated for the proscription of the elder Hugh, his old enemy, as the price of his support.³

Beyond this compact Lancaster gave no help to the confederates.⁴ With his usual selfish policy of isolation he remained in the North, allowing the others to prosecute the work of devastating the English estates of the Despensers. Altogether estates situate in sixty-nine townships and eighteen counties were alleged to have been plundered.⁵ Converging on London, about the 22nd July, the confederates reached St. Albans, where they halted for three days. The Bishop of London⁶ with his brethren of Salisbury,⁷ Hereford,⁸ Ely, and Chichester, had come forward to mediate; they were sent to the King with demands for the banishment of the Despensers and an amnesty for themselves.⁹ The next advance was to Waltham, where the barons remained four days, treating with the Londoners for admission to the City. The citizens consulted the King, and then sent a polite letter

¹ Bridlington, 61-64.

² "See the Indenture printed in Tyrell, III. 280"; Bp. Stubbs, Chron., Edw. I and Edw. II, II. lxxxviii.

³ Mon. Malm. 257.

⁴ See Parly. Writs, II. ii. 178.

⁵ See Parly. Writs, II. ii. 186-190; Ann. Paul. 293; Rot. Parl. III. 362. Lingard gives the damages returned by the elder Despenser as 2,200 oxen and cows, 28,000 sheep, 160 carthorses, 40 tuns of wine, arms for 200 men, &c. Rot. Parl. III. 361.

⁶ Stephen Segrave, commonly called Stephen of Gravesend, consecrated 14 January 1319.

⁷ Roger Mortival, consecrated 28 September 1315; Reg. Sacr.

⁸ Adam Orleton, consecrated 22 May 1317; Id.

⁹ Trokelowe, 108, 109.

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1321

Parliament.

to say that without wishing to support the Despensers or any other public enemies they must be allowed to keep their gates closed. The Confederates therefore had to establish themselves in the suburbs; Hereford took up his quarters in Lancaster's inn in Holborn; Mortimer at St. John's, Clerkenwell; Audley at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and Amory in the Temple (29 July).¹ The proceedings against the Despensers were being taken with all due formality. A full Parliament had been sitting since the 15th July. Eleven articles were preferred against the pair. They were charged with 'accroaching' to themselves royal authority, with estranging the heart of the King from his people, with keeping the magnates from having proper access to the King, with removing ministers appointed by the great men of the realm, and in every way hindering and perverting justice. One special charge laid against the younger Hugh was that he had taught that homage and allegiance were due to the Crown rather than to the person of the King; and that if he would not be guided by reason in exercising his prerogatives, his subjects were bound by their oaths to bring him to reason by force.² This charge certainly came with ill grace from the mouths of the Opposition, but it would seem that they blamed Despenser not so much for promulgating this doctrine, as for applying it wrongfully to his personal ends.

A fortnight and more the King twisted and turned, submitting one day and drawing back the next. But he was powerless to resist. Even Warene had gone over to the Confederates. The bishops, with Pembroke and John of Brittany, the Earl of Richmond, mediated or affected to mediate,³ but the two latter would not be loth to be rid of the younger Hugh. He was irritating the Confederates by sailing up and down the Thames in a big armed vessel belonging to the King, till they threatened to retaliate by firing the palace and all other royal buildings at West-

¹ Ann. Paul. 293-296.

² Statutes, I. 181, &c.; Bridlington, 65-69. See also above, p. 14.

³ Murimuth, 33; Mon. Malm. 259.

minster, from Charing Cross to the Abbey. Then at last Edward, at the instance of Pembroke and Richmond, with the Queen on her knees imploring him to have mercy on his people,¹ gave way, and agreed to meet the Barons. On the 14th August he was led into Westminster Hall by the two friendly Earls, the building being crowded to the door with men on horseback and on foot; with very ill grace (*austero vultu*) the King accepted the obeisances of his subjects and bowed to their terms.²

On the 19th of the month sentence was passed on the two Despensers, in the name of the Lords, the King being present and assenting. Both were condemned to forfeiture and exile, not to be recalled without the consent of prelates, earls and barons, and that in full Parliament duly summoned.³ On the following day full pardons were issued to the Confederate Barons and their followers, for all 'felonies' committed in 'pursuing' the Despensers from the 1st March to the 19th August. Two days later the Parliament broke up.⁴

Banishment of the Despensers.

The elder Despenser submitted calmly to his sentence, retiring to the Continent. Edward escorted him to Harwich.⁵ The son was placed by the King in charge of the Cinque Ports' shipping, and at once turned the command to account by embarking on a piratical career, plundering all foreign vessels. His crowning achievement was the capture of a big Genoese *dromon* or *coche* (Old French), laden with Eastern wares. The whole of the crew were sacrificed. For this gross crime Edward III, five years later, consented to pay 8,000 marks.⁶

¹ "Pro populo genu flecto orante."

² Ann. Paul. 296, 297; Mon. Malm. 258, 259; Trokelowe, 110.

³ Statutes, I. 181; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 365.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 163, &c. The pardons numbered 302; in the course of the following six weeks 146 more were issued.

⁵ Murimuth, 33; Mon. Malm. 261; 12 September, Itinerary.

⁶ Mon. Malm., sup.; Foed. II. 941.

CHAPTER VIII

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A. D. 1321-1323

Edward reduces the Opposition Barons.—Recall of the Despensers.—Capture and execution of Thomas of Lancaster.—Repeal of the Ordinances.—The War.—Invasion of Scotland.—Counter-raid and flight of the King.—Movement for peace.—Truce for thirteen years.

CHAP. VIII

1321

The Queen
insulted.

THE victorious Confederates must have dispersed under a painful sense of the insecurity of their position. They had got the better of the King, but how long was it to last? Edward made no secret of his intentions,¹ and any trifling incident might turn the balance in his favour. An opening was provided by the infatuation of Badlesmere, and the rudeness and disloyalty of Lady Badlesmere. On the 13th October the Queen, being on her way to Canterbury, came to Leeds Castle in Kent, a Royal castle of which Badlesmere was Constable. He was not at home at the time, and the place had been left in charge of his wife, and of a kinsman, one Bartholomew Burghersh. The Queen was refused admission, even when she presented herself in person at the gate to make the request. Her indignant escort attempted to effect an entrance by force, but were repulsed with the loss of five or six men.² According to the King, Badlesmere added insult to injury by writing to the Queen in approval of his wife's conduct;³ at any rate it is clear that he made no attempt to disavow it, or apologize for it. His conduct is absolutely incomprehensible; he had been particularly trusted and employed by the King; he had been raised to the peerage, and was actually at the time Steward of the Household, Constable of Dover, and

¹ Trokelowe, 110; Mon. Malm. 262.

² Ann. Paul. 298; Trokelowe, 110; Murimuth, 34.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 539; Foed. II. 457.

Warden of the Cinque Ports.¹ But at Gloucester's death he had been appointed Warden of Glamorgan, and in handing over the property to the younger Despenser may have had some contention with him. Again, as he held lands in Wilts he may have come into collision with the father also,² or he may simply have acted under the general feeling of provoke and contempt generally entertained for the King. As for the Queen, she had always shown herself sympathetic to the Opposition, and had specially interceded for them in August. From any point of view, however, the refusal of hospitality to a lady was a gross outrage.

Edward lost no time. On the 16th October he proclaimed to the nation the insult offered to the Queen, and called for levies for the reduction of the contumacious castle.³ Imposing forces were raised in London, Kent, and Essex; by the end of the month Leeds fell. Walter Colepepper, the acting Constable, and a dozen others were hung; Burgersh was sent to the Tower, and Lady Badlesmere to Dover Castle. Badlesmere, however, had found friends to espouse his cause. Towards the close of the siege, Hereford, Clifford, and Roger Mortimer, who had never really sheathed their swords, advanced in force as far as Kingston, offering to mediate. Their overtures, however, not being accepted, they retired without attempting further intervention, not feeling equal to a trial of strength with the King, especially without support from Lancaster, who in his folly refused to stir a finger for Badlesmere whom he hated.⁴

Thomas however had already begun to realize that circumstances might call for action on his part. To hold a grand meeting of supporters was his idea of energetic action; and, accordingly, on the 18th October he summoned another little Parliament of his own, to meet at Doncaster

Lancaster
deliber-
ates.

¹ Foed. II. 441, 448.

² See the note of Badlesmere's career given by Sir H. Nicolas, *Siege of Caerlaverock*, 348.

³ Parly. Writs, sup.

⁴ Ann. Paul. 299, 300; Mon. Malm. 262; Murimuth, 34; Chron. London (Aungier), 42; Baker, 12.

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1321

on the 29th November.¹ Edward was prompt in forbidding the illegal meeting (12 November). Three days later he authorizes Rhys ap Gruffudd to raise men for 'the defence of Wales both West and South';² and again five days after that he calls for a miscellaneous force to meet at Cirencester on the 13th December. On the 30th November he writes to Archbishop Reynolds with reference to a meeting of Convocation summoned to meet at St. Paul's next day. The King begs the clergy to pay attention to certain matters to be laid before them by the Earls of Arundel and Richmond.³ The attendance in Convocation was meagre, although the matters to be laid before the assembly were of a very delicate and important character. The Despensers had presented a petition for the reversal of their sentence as unconstitutional and unjust; Edward desired to have the candid opinion of his 'Spiritual Fathers' on the subject. The few who were present advised the King that the proceedings were illegal, and exhorted him to quash them.⁴ A month later Reynolds, as if to save the King trouble, issued a proclamation at St. Paul's declaring the sentences illegal.⁵

War.

Edward did not wait for this sanction. He had only been driven to dismiss the Despensers by the pressure of an armed demonstration, amounting to war. The Confederates had again ventured to come forward in arms, illegally, in quasi-support of Badlesmere. Treating them therefore as simple rebels Edward was preparing to draw the sword without any preliminary 'defiance' or declaration of war. He kept a Christmas in arms at Cirencester, a considerable army having rallied to his standard; his brothers the Earls of Norfolk,⁶ and Kent,⁷ Pembroke,

¹ See his letter printed by Mr. Stevenson, *Lanercost*, 423.

² Parly. Writs, II. ii. 169; i. 540; Foed. II. 459.

³ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 172, and i. 540.

⁴ See the letter of the King of the 4th January 1322 to the ten bishops who had not been present; Foed. II. 470; Concilia, II. 509. Bishop Stapledon of Exeter answered that the sentences should be reversed, but reversed in Parliament. See also *Murimuth*, 35.

⁵ Ann. Paul. 301; 1 January 1322.

⁶ Thomas of Brotherton, created in December 1312; Doyle.

⁷ Edmund of Woodstock, created 26 July 1321; Ann. Paul. 292.

Arundel, Surrey, Richmond were all there; also a body of 500 men from the City of London.¹

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On the 28th December he broke up from Cirencester to attack the Confederates in their strongholds beyond the Severn. Gloucester being held by John Giffard, he marched by Winchcombe and Pershore to Worcester, where he remained eight days endeavouring to cross, but unable to do so in the face of the enemy. Moving up the river to Bridgenorth he again found himself confronted by Giffard, who fired the town to prevent his crossing. At Shrewsbury at last the King found the way clear.² The Mortimers were laying down their arms. They saw that the odds were turning against them. Lancaster had not taken a step towards them, while the King's army barred their access to him. Despairing of succour they yielded. On the 17th January the King signed a safe-conduct for Roger Mortimer of Wigmore and any forty men that he might bring with him, except Badlesmere. On the 22nd January the two Mortimers made their submission. They were sent to the Tower.³ Hugh of Audley followed their example, and was sent to Wallingford. Hereford, Badlesmere, the younger Audley, Amory, and others fled to the North.⁴ On the 25th January the King left Shrewsbury, crossed the Severn, and marching by Stretton and Ludlow came round to Hereford (29 January–4 February) and Gloucester (February 7–18). At Gloucester Maurice of Berkeley yielded the keys of Berkeley Castle, that gloomy stronghold destined so soon to become the scene of a revolting tragedy. Every hostile fortress in the West had now made its submission, and the whole March been reduced to order.⁵

The Mortimers
submit.

Under these circumstances Edward felt himself strong enough to recall his favourites—always his first preoccupa-

¹ Mon. Malm. 263; Foed. II. 470; Ann. Paul. 301.

² Edward signs at Worcester 1–8 January 1322; at Droitwich 9th, at Newport 12th, 13th, and at Shrewsbury 14th January; Itinerary, &c.

³ Foed. II. 471, 472; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 175, 176; Mon. Malm. 264; Ann. Paul. 301; Bridlington, 74.

⁴ Baker, 14; Murimuth, 35.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 264, 265.

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tion. Following up the archbishop's proclamation of the 1st January, the King six days later formally extended his peace to the younger Despenser,¹ while on the 11th February he announced that both father and son would accompany him on an expedition against the Scots. The forces of the Kingdom had already been warned to be in readiness to turn out at call.²

In spite of continuous negotiations, in spite of mediations by the Papacy and France, the truce concluded in December 1319 with the Scots had not been prolonged beyond the two years originally agreed upon.³ Early in January 1322 Randolf and Douglas crossed the Border; the foray extended to Hartlepool in the East and to Richmond in the West, and lasted full fifteen days.⁴

Lancaster
and the
Scots.

Lancaster had probably intrigued with the Scots before. But a treasonable correspondence is now at last clearly brought home to him. On the 16th December 1321 a safe-conduct for an agent of the Earl's was sealed by Douglas; on the 15th January 1322 a fresh protection for the same agent was given by Randolf, he being then at Corbridge. In February John Mowbray and Roger Clifford were invited to confer with Randolf in Scotland; a correspondence ensues with Lancaster in which at first he is covertly addressed as 'King Arthur', while finally a formal treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was executed as between the Scots on the one hand, and Lancaster, Hereford, Badlesmere, Amory, the younger Hugh of Audley, Roger Clifford, John Giffard, and others, on the other hand; the Scots to espouse their allies' quarrels in England, Wales, and Ireland, without claiming any territorial cessions for themselves.⁵

On the 13th February the King named the 28th of the month as the day for a general muster of levies at Coventry.⁶

¹ Ann. Paul. 301.

² Parly. Writs, II. i. 145, &c. 6 February.

³ See Foed. II. 438-441, 464, &c.

⁴ Lanercost, 242. The men of Richmond again paid blackmail.

⁵ Foed. II. 463, 472, 479; the last passage—Lancaster's indictment—is also given by Trokelowe, 118.

⁶ Parly. Writs, II. i. 547, 548.

Encouraged by the Scottish alliance, and provoked by the recall of the favourites, the Northern Barons had broken into open revolt, and were laying siege to Tickhill; ¹ while Lancaster was preparing for a march to the South, just when the time for effective action was past, the March Confederacy having been broken up and disarmed. We are told that Andrew Harclay, the gallant Constable of Carlisle, naturally taking his own view of the situation, had urged the King to turn his first attention to the Scots; but that Edward very wisely had declared that so long as there was a rebel subject in the field he would not care what the Scots did. ²

Edward appeared at Coventry by the appointed day. Leaving the city on the 2nd March, and advancing by Merivale and Drayton Bassett, on the 6th he reached Elford in Staffordshire, three miles East of Lichfield, and ten miles South of Burton-upon-Trent. Lancaster, after wasting three weeks on the siege of Tickhill, ³ had advanced to Burton, and was preparing to hold the bridge there against the King advancing from the South. Three days' skirmishing ensued (March 8-10), the Lancastrians being favoured by a flood in the river, the King meanwhile advancing to Cauldwell in Derbyshire, four miles from Burton. The waters having subsided the Royal army crossed the Trent by a ford, and then advanced on Burton by the high road from Lichfield. Lancaster came out to meet them in battle-array, and then suddenly losing heart "turned and fled". ^{Flight of Lancaster.} The King pressing on in pursuit rested that night at Tutbury (11 March). ⁴ Amory was found there mortally wounded. He was immediately arraigned and condemned, but respited out of regard for his marriage with the King's niece, and 'because the King had loved him much'. Three days later he died. ⁵ Proclamations of outlawry were then issued against Lancaster and his supporters, while the King,

¹ Bridlington, 74.

² Mon. Malm. 265.

³ Bridlington, sup.

⁴ See Lancaster's indictment, Foed. and Trokelowe, sup.; Mon. Malm. 267; Baker, 13; Lanercost, 242; Itinerary.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 268; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 261.

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1322 advancing to Derby, issued writs for a Parliament to meet at York on the 2nd May.¹

Action at
Borough-
bridge.

Meanwhile Lancaster was pressing his retreat Northwards, not daring to halt even at Pontefract—his own chief castle. On the 16th March he reached Boroughbridge. There he found Harclay with a body of Cumberland and Westmoreland men facing him on the North bank of the Ure, and prepared to hold the crossing against him. Adopting Scottish tactics Andrew had dismounted all his men; posting the men-at-arms with some spearmen to hold the end of the foot-bridge, a long narrow timber structure, while the bulk of his men were arrayed as a circular Scottish "schiltrum", with archers in support, to hold the adjacent ford against the cavalry. Hereford and his son-in-law Clifford gallantly undertook to force the passage of the bridge on foot, while Lancaster and the cavalry would attack the ford. Both assaults failed utterly. Hereford, his standard-bearer, and three other knights fell promptly, speared to death on the bridge;² while Clifford was dragged away severely wounded. Lancaster and his knights quailed before the shower poured upon them from the river bank and never entered the water. Helpless and dismayed Thomas asked for a truce till the morrow, and Harclay granted it. If the Great Earl was not absolutely besotted in his self-importance, he must have known that if he fell into his cousin's clutches his life would not be worth six hours' purchase. Under the circumstances one would expect to find the precious hours conceded by Harclay utilized for instant flight to Scotland. Not a bit of it. Lancaster and his barons sat still till the morning, then to find themselves alone, their more prudent followers having vanished in the course of the night. The Sheriff of Yorkshire then appeared in force, cutting off all possibility of escape. Surrender at discretion followed of a necessity.³

Lancaster
taken,

¹ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 181, 182; i. 245.

² See the names of the knights, Parly. Writs, II. ii. 200.

³ Lanercost, 242-245; Bridlington, 75, 76; Mon. Malm. 268, 269; Ann. Paul. 302.

Among those who yielded were Clifford, Giffard, Mowbray, the younger Audley, some hundred bannerets and "bachelors" in all.¹ They were taken by Harclay and the Sheriff to York for safe keeping.²

On the 19th March the King reached Pontefract.³ Burning to avenge the mortifications and humiliations of fifteen years he ordered the arch-offender to be brought before him. Six days after his capture the Earl was put on trial in his own castle. The King presided in person; Tried, the Earls of Kent, Surrey, Arundel, Richmond, Pembroke, Atholl, and Angus sat as his assessors. The indictment began at Newcastle in 1312 and ended at Boroughbridge. The treaty with the Scots was set out at length, the incriminating documents having been found in Hereford's baggage at Boroughbridge; especial stress was laid on the personal insults offered to the King at Pontefract in 1317. Without being allowed one word in self-defence Lancaster was condemned as a rebel taken in arms. Execution followed forthwith. Amid the jeers of the Royalist spectators, 'King Arthur,' the lord of five earldoms, was carried to the gallows knowe and beheaded, the other and incidents of a traitor's doom being spared out of regard executed. for his Royal descent. Six barons taken with him shared his fate.⁴ Young Audley's connexion with the Royal family saved his life. The other leaders found little mercy. Clifford and Mowbray were drawn and hung at York; Giffard at Gloucester. Badlesmere was taken at Stow Park and hanged at Canterbury (14 April). Some five and twenty barons and knights suffered; fifteen were released at once; seventy-two remained in prison.⁵ The proscription was unparalleled.

¹ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 200, 201.

² Bridlington, Mon. Malm., sup.

³ Foed. II. 478.

⁴ Monday, 22 March; Foed. II. 478, 493; Lanercost, 244; Bridlington, 77; Mon. Malm. 270, 271; Ann. Paul. 302. Leland, Coll. II. 465, gives details of the execution of the Earl.

⁵ Lanercost, 245; M. West. III. 207; Trokelowe, 124; Murimuth, 36; Knighton, Decem S., c. 2541; Leland, sup.; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 264. On the 11th July 138 men compounded by payment of fines; Id. II. ii. 202. The recorded amount comes to about £15,000; Stubbs.

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Post-
humous
honours.

The death of Earl Thomas " closes the second act of the great tragedy ". The flight from Burton and the helpless surrender at Boroughbridge made a fitting ending to so feeble a career. But a fall so sudden and so great ' touched men's hearts ', while the King's merciless severity shocked their moral sense.¹ Petty, selfish and incapable as the Earl had always shown himself, he had nevertheless been able to pose as the champion of freedom and constitutional rights ; moreover he had been liberal in his gifts to the clergy and the poor. Saintly honours were immediately conferred upon him—as they had been conferred, with more reason, on Simon of Montfort—a chapel rose on the spot on which he had been ' martyred ' ; pilgrimages were made to it, and miracles wrought there.²

Ordinances
repealed.

From Pontefract the King went to York, for the Parliament summoned to meet there on the 2nd May. The session was marked by the presence of representatives from Wales—their first appearance in Parliament, and " with one exception " their only appearance before the reign of Henry VIII.³ The great business of the session was the repeal of the Ordinances, the work of the Lancastrian party. The whole were cancelled at one stroke, as ' blemishing ' the Royal sovereignty and estate of the Crown. By implication we gather that further justification for the repeal was claimed in the fact that the Ordinances had been drafted, not in full Parliament, but by a commission appointed by the barons, because the statute goes on to enact that, for the future, no manner of Ordinances made by subjects, by any power or authority whatsoever, concerning the Royal power or estate of the King, or the estate of the realm and people, shall be of any effect unless ' treated accorded and established in Parliaments by our lord the King, and by the assent of

See Bridlington, 77 ; Mon. Malm. 271 ; and especially Lanercost, 244, 245, " per crudelem regem ", a most outspoken utterance for a mediaeval writer.

² Lanercost, sup. ; Northern Registers, 323, 325. For miracles wrought at a tablet set up by Lancaster at St. Paul's to commemorate the King's acceptance of the Ordinances see Chron. Lond. 46 ; Foed. II. 525 (1323). For miracles in honour of other " martyrs " to the cause, Id. 536, 537, 547.

³ Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 369.

the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as it hath been heretofore accustomed.' ¹ The objection was untenable, as the Ordinances had received the sanction of Parliament in 1311; but Edward, while seeking to score off his adversaries, had enunciated "a more elaborate formula of constitutional law" than had yet been known. In fact the Despensers while hastening to get rid of the trammels of the Ordinances were anxious to disclaim on the part of the King any intention of ruling tyrannically. A further set of Ordinances of the King's own, duly made with the assent of the prelates, earls, barons and commons, were published, in which Edward declared his recognition of the rights of the Church 'as contained in the Great Charter'; ordered the observance of his peace 'according to law and custom', and proclaimed a confirmation of sundry popular measures, and in particular the important Statutes of 1300 touching Purveyance, Prises, and the jurisdictions of the Steward and the Marshal, burning questions on which the King had been repeatedly pressed.² The law concerning appeals and outlawry was reformed in the very words of the Ordinance of 1311.³

Fresh Or-
dinances.

It will thus be seen that the fall of Lancaster did not involve any serious blow to the Constitution. Edward was not distinctively a tyrant. His crying sins were neglect of business and contempt for the duties and responsibilities of his station.

The Parliament was also naturally called upon to reverse the Acts passed against the Despensers, a special dispensation from the Pope being thought to remove all difficulty.⁴ The elder Hugh was rewarded for his services by promotion to the Earldom of Winchester, the spoils of the fallen Lancastrians being heaped upon him.⁵ In like manner Andrew Harclay became Earl of Carlisle.⁶ The grant of one man-at-arms from each township for the war against

Money
grants.

¹ 19 May; Statutes, I. 189; Bp. Stubbs, sup., 369.

² See Rot. Parl. I. 444.

³ Rot. Parl. 456.

⁴ Foed. II. 484; Statutes, I. 185.

⁵ For a list of these estates see Dugdale, Baronage, I. 391.

⁶ Bridlington, 79; Lanercost, 245.

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the Scots makes up the total of business transacted.¹ The Canterbury clergy attending the Parliament had agreed to the grant of 5*d.* on the mark of Spirituals, but were allowed to make a more formal grant in Convocation duly summoned for the purpose (9 June).² No further grant was needed, as in April John XXII had granted Tenths for two more years.³

The repeal of the Ordinances was held to revive the right to levy the *Nova Custuma*, remitted by the King himself in February 1310, and abrogated by the Ordinances in 1311. The King also obtained from the foreign merchants for one year an advance on wool corresponding to that obtained in 1317.⁴

The war.

Parliament over the King turned his attention to the Scottish war. The energetic fit being still on him, he was preparing for another serious effort to recover lost ground. Active preparations had begun in March. The military tenants had been bidden to be ready at Newcastle by the 13th of June. Commissions of array for raising 38,000 men in England had been issued. 1,300 horse and 6,000 foot had been required from Ireland. Even Aquitaine had been called upon to contribute.⁵ Compositions for personal service, and the ransoms of the imprisoned Lancastrians helped to supply funds.⁶ The muster was eventually adjourned to the 24th July, and the King himself did not appear at Newcastle till the 1st of August.

Scottish
raid.

With less fuss of preparation Bruce was first in the field. On the 19th June he had swept past the walls of Carlisle, pushing on to burn the bishop's manor house at Rose. He then raided Allerdale and Copeland, put Furness Abbey

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 573 ; ii. 186.

² Parly. Writs, i. 259 ; Wake, *State of Church*, 274 ; Stubbs.

³ Ann. Paul. 303, 304 ; Wilkins, *Conc.* II. 514.

⁴ Parly. Writs, ii. 193, 214.

⁵ Parly. Writs, i. 558-568, 570 ; Foed. II. 481, 482, &c. It seems likely that these extravagant numbers were demanded in order to frighten the counties into compounding by money payments. See Parly. Writs, II. i. 563, 575. These levies were counter-ordered when the Parliamentary grant of men-at-arms was made ; *Ib.* 572.

⁶ Parly. Writs, ii. 202, &c. ; i. 601.

to the ransom, crossed the sands to Cartmel, and again those of Morecambe Bay on to Lancaster, which was burnt. At Lancaster he was joined by Randolph and Douglas with an independent force, and the three pushed on to lay Preston in ashes. By the 12th July they had returned to the neighbourhood of Carlisle, and on the 24th July they recrossed the Border.¹

A month later (19 August) Edward began his advance, resting at Melrose, and two days later in Edinburgh, his turning point, from whence he moved to Leith and Musselburgh. Bruce had not thought it incumbent on him to give the English an opportunity of reversing the issue of Bannockburn. He had retired behind the Forth, having previously cleared the low country of everything movable. Edward, or those responsible for his actions, had utterly failed to make any proper commissariat arrangements. It would seem that his levies were in straits before they began their advance,² and were soon reduced to the utmost distress, as foul winds prevented such shipping as had been provided from entering the Forth; while their foraging parties found nothing to pick up. According to the Scots an old cow found in a field of corn at Tranent was the only prize. The Earl of Surrey declared that it was the dearest beef he had ever seen; it had cost him £1,000.³ Within a fortnight hunger and sickness forced the English to fall back in calamitous retreat. On their way as a parting shot they fired Dryburgh Abbey.⁴

From writs of Parliamentary summons issued a fortnight later (18 September) we learn that the King purposed remaining at Newcastle during the autumn and winter, to guard the frontier; with the summer he would once more attack the Scots 'to make a final end of their presumption'.⁵ Two days later he has to write to the barons that the Scots

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Invasion
of
Scotland.

¹ Lanercost, 246; Fordun, 349.

² So Trokelowe, 124.

³ Barbour, 427.

⁴ Lanercost, 247; Trokelowe, sup.; Scalacr. 149; Barbour, sup. There is an absolute consensus as to the sickness and mortality. Edward signs at Fenham (Newcastle) 1st September; Itinerary.

⁵ Parly. Writs, II. i. 261, &c.; Foed. II. 496.

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Fresh raid.Scots in
Cleveland.

are attacking Norham, and begs for a muster at Newcastle by the 17th October.¹ But long before that day, namely on the 30th September, Bruce had again crossed the Solway, moving on to Beaumont, 4 miles west of Carlisle, where he remained five days. From Beaumont the bulk of his force was sent on an audacious expedition, right across England, to ravage the Cleveland hills² on the East coast, Edward himself being at the time actually quartered in that neighbourhood. Cleveland was evidently selected for attack as being virgin soil, hitherto untouched, where a rich harvest might be expected. The King, who had fallen back from Newcastle to Durham and Barnard Castle, issued writs from the latter place on the 2nd October calling on the Earl of Carlisle and others to meet him in force with all speed on Blackhow Moor, to resist the Scots.³ From Barnard Castle Edward went on again to Yarm, remaining there from the 6th to the 12th October, as if on the look-out for the enemy, who, at the time, must have been running riot in the Northern parts of Cleveland.

On the 13th October the King apparently went from Yarm to Thirsk, and next day on to Rievaulx Abbey.⁴ In 1319 the country had been much agitated because the Queen had been in some slight danger of falling into the hands of the Scots. Now the King himself was only saved from that fate by hasty and ignominious flight. The Scots were suddenly reported as approaching Rievaulx, presumably by Bilsdale and Byland; because we are told that Edward to meet them sent out his men to occupy an eminence on the road leading from Rievaulx to Byland. The position was a strong one, but the Scottish attack was so resolute, or the English resistance so feeble,⁵ that the latter were driven from it with heavy loss. John of Brittany the Earl of Richmond, who was in command, and Henri de Sully, a French envoy who happened to be in

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 640; 20 September.

² "Blakehou Mōr," I take it, may be identified with Blackhow Tipping, 9 miles north-east of Pickering.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 606.

⁴ Itinerary; Ann. Paul. 304.

⁵ Both according to the Scalacronica.

England, were taken prisoners; while Edward with the Earl of Kent, the younger Hugh, John Cromwell, and John de Ros had to save themselves by precipitate flight from Rievaulx to the Priory of Bridlington on the sea-coast. But for the attractions of the rich spoil he left behind him Edward would probably have been captured.¹ Bruce that night occupied the quarters prepared for his rival; while next day it was thought prudent to take the King from Bridlington to Burstwick in the remotest corner of Holderness for safety. The Queen, who had been left at Tyne-mouth Priory, was in equal peril, and had to face an uncomfortable sea-voyage in a coasting vessel.² By the 18th October, however, Edward was able to return to York. Harclay pressed him to join in taking steps to expel the Scots, but the King did not feel equal to the exertion.³

Bruce remained in the neighbourhood five days more, ravaging all the wold (*le wald*). A ransom of £400 was exacted from Beverley Minster, his farthest point. He then moved to Malton; on the 23rd October he disappeared, to plunder Ripon on the way home, and finally recrossed the Border on the 2nd November. From the accounts of this foray we gain the interesting fact that each Scottish trooper, as a properly equipped scout, had two horses.⁴

The Parliament, summoned to meet at Ripon, was held perforce at York; the session lasted 14-29 November; the counties gave a Tenth, the boroughs and ancient demesnes a Sixth.⁵ The Clergy were requested to make grants in Convocation. Canterbury met in January (1323) and refused, on the plea of the biennial Tenth already granted

¹ Lanercost, 247; Bridlington, 79; Scalacr. 149; Trokelowe, 125; Murimuth, 37. As after Bannockburn, so again now Edward's Privy Seal fell into Bruce's hands; Foed. II. 498. It is clear that the flight was from Rievaulx, not as commonly stated from Byland.

² So the Indictment of the younger Despenser, Knighton, Decem S., c. 2548.
³ Lanercost, 247, 248.

⁴ Bridlington, 280; Murimuth, 38; Lanercost, sup.; Baker, 14, 15. For the devastation of Cleveland see Northern Registers, XXIX, 318-323.

⁵ Parly. Writs, II. i. 261, 263, 277, 278, 280; Rot. Parl. I. 457.

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by the Pope, and also on the further plea of the prevalent dearth and distress.¹ In their grounds of refusal given in writing they prayed that the King and Magnates would commend themselves to the prayers of the Church, and abstain from extortion and oppression of the people.²

The broad result of the year 1322 with all its varied incidents was to leave Edward II almost without a trustworthy friend among his subjects.

The deplorable state of the Northern counties, left year after year at the mercy of the Scots, prompted Harclay the hero of Boroughbridge to venture on the bold step of attempting to force the King's hand by contracting a private league of peace with Bruce. The circumstances might seem to make the scheme possible. A year or two earlier the men of Cumberland, while protesting unalterable loyalty to Edward, had implored him to remove them to some quarter where they could live in peace till he should be able to protect them in their original homes. For eight years they had been at the mercy of the Scots, they said, and were reduced to destitution.³ Harclay had probably lost all patience with the King after the flight from Rievaulx. On the 3rd January 1323 he had an interview with King Robert at Lochmaben, and entered into a treaty with him for securing peace between the two countries on the footing of the complete independence of Scotland; the terms to be settled by a committee of twelve, six to be named by the King of Scotland and six by the Earl of Carlisle; the signatories to be bound not only to help and defend all willing to concur, but also to 'confound' all not so disposed. If the King of England would give his assent within a year

¹ Wheat had been excessively dear in 1321, and was still dear in 1322-1324. Rogers, *Prices*, I. 200, 230.

² Lincoln, 14 January 1323; *Parly. Writs*, II. i. 280-283; *W. Dene, Angl. Sacr.* I. 363; Stubbs. The King endeavoured to get hold of the authors of the remonstrance, but Convocation boldly adhered to it as their collective act.

³ See the letter, printed by Mr. Stevenson, *Lanercost*, 537. The document refers to Harclay as Warden of the March, and therefore must have been written after 6th April 1319, when he received the appointment. *Parly. Writs*.

Bruce undertook to found a monastery for the good of the souls of those who had fallen in the war, and further to pay Edward 40,000 marks by instalments.¹ The undertaking to help and defend persons joining the league was all right; but the stipulation for 'confounding' all opponents would involve war against the King of England if he should refuse to concur. Harclay, however, full of faith in his scheme, convened a general meeting of Cumberland magnates, clerical and lay, and with difficulty obtained a few reluctant promises of support.² He also wrote to the mayor and citizens of Newcastle, urging them to join.³ The common folk welcomed a scheme that promised deliverance from their sufferings.⁴ Edward, however, very naturally, regarded Harclay's proceedings as mere treason. On the 1st February an order was given for the Earl's arrest.⁵ Arrest of
Harclay. The task of executing the writ was craftily committed to Anthony Lucy of Cockermouth, a young baron recently summoned to Parliament, a friend and confidant of the Earl's.⁶ He took to him other three neighbours, namely Hugh of Lowther, Hugh of Moresby, and Richard of Denton, men who, like himself, would be received at Carlisle as friends. Choosing a time when they knew that Harclay's retinue happened to be dispersed, they quietly entered the hall of Carlisle Castle, as if on some friendly errand, and arrested the Earl as he was sitting at table, unarmed, and busy with his correspondence. Edward, not content with appointing a special political commission to try the Earl, with characteristic contempt for legal and constitutional formalities, sent the judges, cut and dry, the exact words of the sentence that they were to pass on Harclay. He would be first degraded and then executed; stripped of his earl's belt, with his spurs hacked off his heels, he would be drawn to the gallows, hung, and there beheaded and quartered. He met his fate with the utmost fortitude, His execu-
tion.

¹ See the treaty, Bridlington, 82; summarized, Lanercost, 248.

² Id. 249.

³ Bridlington, 83.

⁴ Lanercost, sup.

⁵ See Foed. II. 504, 506, 507.

⁶ Murimuth, 39; Scalacr. 149. Lucy was first summoned in 1320; Historic Peerage.

CHAP. VIII justifying his action and declaring that he meant no
1323 disloyalty to the King (3 March).¹

Truce for
thirteen
years.

But the unfortunate Earl had not thrown away his life in vain. The movement in favour of peace became irresistible. The Despensers had shown themselves not less incapable of defending the country than Thomas of Lancaster. On the 14th March Edward signed a truce to last over Trinity Sunday (22nd May),² to allow of negotiations. De Sully, the captive of Byland, was employed by Bruce as his agent. But the question of the recognition still barred the way to the conclusion of formal peace. On the 5th May a conference was held at Newcastle, attended by Pembroke and the younger Despenser on the one side, and by Lamberton the Bishop of St. Andrews and Randolf on the other side.³ After some haggling, Edward, on the 30th May, at the request of "Sire Robert de Brus", consented to sign a truce for thirteen years, as between his subjects and supporters on the one side, and those of 'the said Robert' on the other side. Bruce, however, in ratifying the treaty was careful to sign as "*Nous Robert roi d'Escoce*"; and with that wording the document was entered on the rolls,⁴ Bruce seemingly being allowed 'to take what England refused to give'.⁵ The treaty was expressed to be made with the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons of either country; all territorial occupations (*purprises*) to be reciprocally surrendered; all questions of breach of truce to be referred to Wardens of the Marches, a newly created office; no fortresses to be built or re-established within a neutral zone, defined as comprising Cumberland with Northumberland to the line of the South Tyne and Tyne, and so down to the sea, on the one side, and the 'counties' of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Dumfries, on the other side. A special clause provided that the English should offer no impediment to the reconciliation of the Scots with the

¹ Lanercost, 249-251; Foed. II. 509. The other chroniclers take an unfavourable view of Harclay's conduct. The Earl of Kent was appointed King's Lieutenant of the March to succeed him; Foed. 506.

² Foed. 510.

⁴ 7 June; Foed. 524.

³ Lanercost, 252.

⁵ Hill Burton.

Papacy, a stipulation violated by Edward before the year was out.¹ The reader must not suppose that free intercourse between the two nationalities would ensue. It was expressly forbidden ; merchant strangers might come and go, but no native might cross the frontier without a pass.²

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With the Truce of Newcastle the Scottish war of independence comes to an end. When hostilities are resumed it will be for the furtherance not of national but of private ends and interests.

Conquest
of Scot-
land
abandoned.

¹ Foed. II. 609, 613 ; and especially Murimuth, the King's agent in resisting the Scots' efforts, 40, 41.

² Foed. 521. The withholding of *pratique* between the countries was evidently Edward's own doing ; Ib. and 518.

CHAPTER IX

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1323-1326

Increasing disaffection at Home.—Troubles in Gascony.—Edward summoned to render homage due to Charles IV.—Guienne invaded.—The Queen sent over to make terms.—*Pro Forma* surrender of Guienne.—King's son sent to render homage.—Isabelle and Mortimer.

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Unpopularity of the Despensers.

THE Scottish inroads had ceased, but the difficulties of the government had not been dissipated. Opposition to the Despensers, cowed for a moment by the triumph of Boroughbridge, soon began to gather strength in secret. The severities against the Lancastrians, especially the pecuniary mulcts and forfeitures, were regarded as their work rather than that of the King.¹ Men liked to believe that the King was not unmerciful. The jealousy excited by the unique position of the favoured pair only waited an opportunity for declaring itself. A King, men said, was all right, but three kings were intolerable.² Towards Edward himself probably the chief feeling entertained was one of irritation mingled with contempt. During the discussions as to granting the truce, his pet, Bishop Louis of Beaumont, scornfully refused to offer the King any advice, and behaved so cavalierly that Edward ordered him to prison.³ Edward seemed to earn no gratitude for favours shown. Three prelates had distinctly sided with the Barons in 1322; namely, John Drokenford Bishop of Bath and Wells; Henry Burghersh Bishop of Lincoln; and Adam of Orleton Bishop of Hereford. Drokenford had been Keeper of the Wardrobe under Edward I. At the accession of the son he became Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Disloyal Bishops.

¹ So Scalacr. 150.

² See all this clearly brought out, Baker, 16, 17.

³ Foed. II. 506.

but failed to retain the office for any length of time.¹ Perhaps he was offended at having been superseded. Burghersh was nephew to the late Badlesmere, and through his influence had been 'forced' into the See of Lincoln when under canonical age.² During the late troubles his sympathies of course had been entirely on the side of his uncle. Orleton, a very able man, was attached to the Queen; he had originally been appointed by the Pope in direct opposition to the King's wishes, and had naturally allied himself with his neighbours the March Lords.³ The King had sent to Avignon to complain of the conduct of these bishops. The envoy chosen was John Stratford, a clerk of the Council.⁴ While he was at Avignon Winchester fell vacant. Stratford was told to press for the appointment of Robert Baldock, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Stratford, moreover, being proctor for Baldock at the time.⁵ But, regardless of his obligations to either patron, he sought for and obtained Winchester for himself.⁶ Edward was most indignant, and made every effort to induce John XXII to cancel the appointment of the 'Traitor envoy' (*Pseudo-nuncium*). For a whole year he refused to admit the new Bishop to his temporalities.⁷

Till now the King's chief safeguard had been the lack of any fitting leader for the Opposition. On the night of the 1st-2nd August Roger Mortimer of Wigmore escaped from the Tower.⁸ Very complete arrangements had been made beforehand by the care of Adam Orleton. The Deputy Constable had been secured;⁹ the warders were stupefied with drugged liquor. Breaking out of his cell, most likely through the ceiling, Mortimer reached the roof of the kitchen. With the help of a ladder of ropes he

Escape of
Mortimer.

¹ Foss, III. 86; Madox, Excheq. II. 30.

² Foed. II. 405, 425; Mon. Malm. 251; Murimuth, 31.

³ Foed. 338; Mon. Malm. 264.

⁴ Foed. 504, 510, 515.

⁵ Foed. 543.

⁶ Foed. 517, 518, 520, 525, 531-535; Blanford, 145; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 373. Stratford was consecrated by the Pope himself 23 June 1323; Reg. Sac.

⁷ Foed., sup., and 541.

⁸ Chron. Lond. 46; Murimuth, 40; Blanford, 145 (St. Alban's Chronicle, Rolls Series, No. 28, vol. III).

⁹ Knighton, c. 2543.

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and a companion let themselves down first into the inner bailey, then into the outer bailey, and from that again to a boat in readiness in the Thames. Crossing the river they found horses and attendants ready at Bermondsey; with these they rode down to Netley, where again a row-boat was in waiting to take them off to a ship. Before the King heard of the "effraction" Mortimer had safely landed in Flanders.¹

Relations
with
France.

By an ominous coincidence, the week that brought Edward the news of Roger's escape also introduced an embassy whose errand clearly pointed to possible troubles from another quarter. On the 3rd January 1322 Philip V, "*Le Long*," of France, second son of Philip the Fair, died, leaving four daughters. His brother Charles IV, "*Le Bel*," putting aside Philip's daughters, as Philip had put aside Louis Hutin's daughter, ascended the throne, and was duly hallowed on the 2nd February.² Edward's government in Gascony was as weak and regarded with as much contempt as his rule at home. Presuming on his weakness the seneschals of Toulouse, Cahors and Périgueux had been freely invading the jurisdiction of the English Seneschal of Bordeaux, claiming the primary cognizance of causes that ought not to have come before them except by way of appeal, a grievous hardship to Gascon litigants. Remonstrance after remonstrance had been addressed by Edward to his brother-in-law without result.³ The present embassy came from France, and the envoy Hugh de Boville was charged to deliver a letter couched in most friendly language, but in fact summoning Edward to appear at Amiens by Easter (15 April) 1324 to render the homage due for Aquitaine and Ponthieu. The homage was due, of course; but the summons, it appears, was irregular,

Edward
cited.

¹ Chron. Lond. and Blanford, sup.; Ann. Paul. 305, 306, and the inquest there. Nicholas Segrave, the Constable of the Tower, was tried for negligence but acquitted; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 239.

² Martin, France, IV. 550; Ann. Paul.

³ Martin, sup., 558; Sismondi, France, IX. 447; Foed. II. 488, 512-515; and for the interference with the Gascon Courts, 548. For the relations of Edward and Philip V Professor Tout cites Lelengeur, Hist. de Philippe le Long, 240.

being uttered on foreign soil, not on soil subject to the French crown, as it ought to have been.¹ We are told accordingly that the younger Despenser and Baldock did their utmost to avoid accepting service of the irregular citation, endeavouring to treat the communication as merely friendly and not official. Boville, however, before leaving England had the citation formally proclaimed, and took away a notarial instrument certifying the fact that it had been proclaimed.²

As the summons could not be ignored, Edward, after due consideration, sent envoys (16 November) to beg for time, pointing out that the state of England made it very undesirable for the King to leave the country. At the same time the ambassadors were instructed to press for a cessation of French inroads on English rights in the Agenais, and specially in the matter of a *bastide* or fort being built or occupied by the French at Saint-Serdos, a place claimed by them as an *enclave* within English territory. Conflicting legal decisions on the territorial question had been rendered, the last being in favour of the French, who thereupon hoisted Charles' flag and took formal possession. It would seem that out of regard for Edward's remonstrances Charles was desiring his people at Saint-Serdos to hold their hands, when a crisis was precipitated by the hot-headed action of Raymond Bertrand of Montpezat, who, doubtless, was the immediate lord of Saint-Serdos. Rallying a host of brother barons, and enlisting the support of Ralph Bassët the Seneschal of Gascony, Bertrand, without further ado, attacked and plundered the *bastide*, pulled down the French flag, and hung the French King's representative (*procureur*). Charles in a fury summoned all the guilty parties to appear before his "*Parlement*" at Toulouse. The majority submitted and made terms; Bertrand and others held aloof, and were subjected to decrees of utter

Collision
in
Gascony.

¹ See the Memoir by Brequigny, Académie des Inscriptions, vol. XLI, p. 643.

² Foed. II. 563; Murimuth, 39, 40. He tells us that the embassy found Edward at Pickering. He was there 1st August, and again 7-21 August. Murimuth must have been there, as he was appointed at the time to replace Stratford as King's Proctor at Avignon; Foed. 531.

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forfeiture (*bannitio*). Further correspondence ensued between the Kings in which Charles, while pressing for satisfaction as to the affair of Saint-Serdos, adjourned the time for the homage-render to the 1st July.¹

Negotia
tion.

The state of relations with France, and the answers to be given to the French demands furnished the most urgent matter for the consideration of a Parliament that met at Westminster on the 23rd February 1324.² Charles' demands had to be met, one way or another; while the Pope as a friend urged the King to settle everything and render homage.³ As a sop to Charles, Basset was superseded, and envoys appointed with various instructions. William Weston, Canon of Lincoln, would argue the legal points with the Parliament of Paris; while Alexander Bicknore, Archbishop of Dublin, and the Earl of Kent would discuss the time and place to be appointed for the homage-render.⁴ They were also directed to investigate outrages alleged by the King of France to have been committed at Saint-Serdos, or elsewhere, and to set right any matters calling for reformation.⁵ On the 9th April they left London.⁶

To go back to the Parliament. No other business of much importance was transacted in the session. A Statute was passed transferring the Templar estates to the Hospitallers, in accordance with Papal decrees and the Council of Vienne;⁷ Henry of Lancaster ("Wryneck") was admitted to the Lancastrian Earldom, with that of Leicester to follow.⁸ But a request by the King for a contribution towards the ransom of the Earl of Richmond met with a blank refusal.⁹ Edward's own energies were still absorbed in the persecution of individual opponents.¹⁰ The applica-

¹ See Brequigny, sup., from English official records not printed by Rymer, but left by him in his MS. collections.

² Parly. Writs, II. i. 289, 290. The lower clergy attended under the *Praemunientes* clause.

³ March; Foed. II. 547.

⁴ February; id. 545.

⁵ March; id. 547.

⁶ Ann. Paul. 207.

⁷ Statutes, I. 194. For the transfer of the Templars' estates see Foed. II. 167, &c., and above.

⁸ Ann. Paul. 306; Complete Peerage, Doyle.

⁹ Murimuth, 43; Blanford, 140.

¹⁰ For proceedings against subordinates see Parly. Writs, II. i. 242, 245-248.

tions to the Pope against the offending Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Bath having entirely failed,¹ the King resolved to redress his own grievances himself. Stratford, who had returned to England, was summoned to give an account of his mission before the Court of King's Bench. He demurred to the jurisdiction; but gave in a written defence of his conduct.² Hereford was arraigned of high treason in his seat in Parliament, the overt acts assigned being assistance given to the insurgents in 1322, and the making of the arrangements for Mortimer's escape from the Tower.³ The Bishop appealed to his clerical brethren, and the clergy rising as one man took him under their protection. The King, however, a few days later had Orleton brought before him. The three Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, with ten suffragans, marched at once to the palace in full pontificals, with crosses erect, and rescued their brother. Not to be beaten, the King summoned a common jury from Herefordshire; obtained a verdict against the Bishop; seized his estates; and confiscated or scattered all his goods, chattels, and stores.⁴

The difficulties with France, however, were rapidly increasing. The English envoys on reaching Paris had been met with formal demands for (i) the cession of Montpezat; (ii) the surrender of the men against whom decrees had been passed; (iii) an undertaking to give no harbour to any further persons against whom decrees might thereafter be uttered. The envoys were inclined to yield, and the Pope urged the same course; but Edward refused; the surrender of an integral part of the Duchy under such circumstances, he said, would expose him to be stripped of his dominions piecemeal.⁵ The King's argument was sound enough; unfortunately it lacked the support of that material basis

French
Demands.

¹ See Foed. II. 540.

² Foed. 541-544; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 241. Stratford came home in November 1323.

³ Baker, 16.

⁴ Blaneford, sup.; Murimuth, 42; Baker, 16. The proceedings against Lincoln and Winchester were stayed, and both were shortly admitted to their temporalities; Blaneford, 142; Foed. 557.

⁵ See Edward's letter to the Pope of the 28th May; Foed. 554.

on which all reasoning in matters political must rest. Charles at once laid an embargo on English shipping, seized Ponthieu, and sent an army to the South under his Anglophobe uncle Charles of Valois.¹ Edward, while attempting to shuffle and negotiate,² found himself called upon to raise forces for an immediate expedition to Aquitaine, which was in no position to defend itself (4 June). All the usual measures were taken; shipping ordered, commissions of array sent round, writs for distraint of knighthood issued.³ On the 16th July commanders-in-chief were named; John Segrave and Fulk Fitz Warine would lead the soldiery, while John Cromwell would be 'Admiral' of the fleet.⁴ On the 18th September an armament was finally sent off to support the Earl of Kent, who had been appointed King's Lieutenant of Aquitaine. But the relief came all too late. Aquitaine was already lost. The Count of Valois began his march about the 19th July; on the 8th August he entered Cahors; while on the 15th of the month Agen opened its gates to him. Port-Sainte-Marie, Tonneins, La Marmande followed suit. The Earl of Kent then fell back on the historic fortress of La Réole, situate on a promontory washed on two sides by the waters of the Garonne, and girt with double and triple works. For five weeks the Earl held Charles and his engines at bay; at last under threat of a storming assault he capitulated (22 September), signed a truce to Easter (7 April) 1325, and retired to Bordeaux.⁵ Once more Bordeaux with Bayonne and Saint-Sever represented the English Dominion.

¹ Edward to the Pope, 28 July; Foed. II. 563.

² Id. 558-562. Edward sent envoys to render vicarious homage at Amiens, but Charles never appeared; Brequigny, sup., 660.

³ All holding land over £40 a year to be knighted.

⁴ Foed. 552-562. From the sheriffs' returns to writs issued in connexion with the preparations for this war we find that there were resident in 34 counties 1,142 knights (*milites*?) with 935 men-at-arms (*armigeri*?). Cheshire, Durham, and Oxford are wanting, and the list of the men-at-arms is defective. See the returns printed by Sir F. Palgrave, Parly. Writs, II. i. 637-657, from the Cott. MS. Claudius, C. 2. It is a pity, however, that the Latin designations of the different classes are not given.

⁵ See J. Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 211-214; Murimuth, 42; Blanford, 149, 150.

A loss of a different kind sustained by Edward in the summer was the death of his cousin and best friend Aylmer of Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who, having been sent over to Paris to assist in the negotiations, died suddenly in France on his way home (23 June).¹

Edward, infuriated at his reverses, found vent for his wrath in a general persecution of all French people to be found in England, beginning with the Queen. Her native attendants were dismissed, and all her estates taken into hand (18th September). We are also told that she was put on an allowance of £1 a day; and as a crowning humiliation placed under the *surveillance* of Lady le Despenser, who had the keeping of her seal. All other French were put under arrest, and made to find security for good conduct.² The estates of the Priories Alien were seized, and kept in hand for six months.³ The public, anxious to shield the King, were disposed to ascribe the attack on the Queen to the Despensers, that is to say to the younger Hugh,⁴ who was all-powerful, his father having retired into the background since 1322, and no doubt the King acted at Hugh's instigation. But he shirked no responsibility in the matter. The writs of confiscation run "*Teste Rege*", and "*Per Ipsum Regem et consilium*".⁵

Persecu-
tion of the
French.

By these ungracious and discreditable proceedings Edward sealed the fate of his minions and his own.

Intent on the recovery of his lost provinces the King, in his feeble way, pottered away during the autumn with his preparations, endeavouring to form alliances with Aragon and Brittany, appealing to the Pope for support as against France, and talking of final peace with Scotland.⁶ A

¹ M. Westm. III. 223; Blanford, 150; Ann. Paul. 307.

² Foed. II. 569; Chron. Meaux, II. 348; Chron. Lond. 48; Lanercost, 254; Baker, 17.

³ 28th September. Foed. 570, 574, 575; Ann. Paul. 307, 308; Blanford, 151.

⁴ So the French Chronicle of London, and Baker, sup.; also Mon. Malm. 299. Contra the Meaux Chron., which charges the King with the whole persecution of Isabelle and her countrymen.

⁵ Foed. 569, 570. The writs are dated 18 September at Dorchester, where the King was.

⁶ Foed. 565, 572-577.

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Treating
for peace.

general Parliament, summoned to meet at Salisbury, eventually was held in the Tower (24 October), a novel place of meeting.¹ Under Henry III the barons had refused to trust themselves within its walls. No records of the proceedings have come down, and no supply was voted. But the King claimed to have obtained sanction for military preparations; and, accordingly, issued writs for some 16,000 men of all arms to meet at Portsmouth on the 17th March 1325, always of course at his 'wages'.² In the meantime, however, out of respect for Papal envoys sent to mediate for peace,³ he gave grudging orders for a truce—but a truce at sea only—while naming John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, Stratford of Winton, the Earl of Richmond and Henry of Beaumont as ambassadors to treat of peace.⁴ To these William of Ayreminne, Master of the Rolls and Canon of York, was subsequently added.⁵

About this time ecclesiastical jealousy involved the King in a petty trouble that was not without its bearing on his fate. He had appointed William Melton, the Archbishop of York, Treasurer, an excellent appointment; but the Archbishop's presence in London in the discharge of his duties raised the terrible question of his right to carry his cross in the Southern Province. Melton insisted on it, and Edward had to threaten Reynolds with dire consequences if he should molest his rival, or any of his suite. The sheriffs were ordered to give Melton special protection on his journey South.⁶

The Queen
to go to
Paris.

The negotiations in France making little progress, it was suggested at the French court that if Isabelle were allowed to come over the prospect of a satisfactory solution would be greatly facilitated, and that Charles would certainly grant good terms of peace.⁷ Both the Papal and the royal

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 317; the session rose on the 10th November, 325; Ann. Paul. 308.

² Foed. II. 580-583.

³ William of Loudun, Archbishop of Vienne, and Hugh, Bishop of Orange; Foed. 567; they reached London on the 8th November, and left on the 21st of the month; Ann. Paul. 308.

⁴ Foed. 578, 579.

⁵ Id. 598.

⁶ Foed. 574; Parly. Writs, II. i. 318, 319.

⁷ "Firmae pacis tractatibus consentiret."

envoys pressed Edward to consent, and Stratford came over in person to urge their recommendations with greater force.¹ John XXII, himself a Frenchman, was altogether favourable, if in fact the suggestion in the first instance had not originated with him.² Confident that Edward would have to consent, he writes to congratulate the Queen before ever the King had given his consent.³ The Queen herself was only too ready to escape from the humiliations to which she was exposed in her husband's court. We are told that in the hope of getting away she condescended to lavish unwonted smiles on Edward and his favourites. The opposition prelates Orleton and Burghersh, and all the opposition backed her up. They saw that in Paris she might be made the pivot of a combination for getting rid of the Despensers at any rate.⁴ Edward did not care a button for Isabelle, and was understood to be intriguing at Avignon for a divorce ;⁵ but he saw the danger of entrusting his wife to the enemy's camp. Of course he might have gone over in person to render the homage, as he had done before, under different circumstances, and had enjoyed the trip. But the Despensers were afraid either to go with him or remain without him.⁶ Driven into a corner, and forced to reap as he had sown, the wretched monarch, with undisguised reluctance, gave his consent.⁷ Isabelle took an affectionate leave of her husband and his court, and sped across the Channel blithe as a bird escaped from the net of the fowler (9 March).⁸

Edward's
difficulties.

Isabelle
goes.

¹ So Edward to the Pope, 8 March 1325 ; Foed. II. 595.

² On the 2nd July 1324 he had urged Isabelle to mediate ; Epp. VIII. 794 ; Pauli.

³ 5 March 1325 ; Epp. IX. 178 ; Pauli.

⁴ Baker, 17, 18 ; Mon. Malm. 279. For Isabelle's friendly leave-taking with her husband and Despenser see Edward's letter to her ; Foed. 615.

⁵ So Lanercost, sup. ; and Ann. Paul. 337. Cf. the King's conversation with Haymo Heath, Bishop of Rochester, Dene, Angl. Sacr. I. 365. Thomas Dunhead, a royalist Dominican, was understood to be acting in the matter at Avignon.

⁶ Baker, sup. ; Mon. Malm. 284 ; Murimuth, 44.

⁷ "Licet grave et difficile videtur," &c. Edward to the Pope ; Foed. 595 ; and again, 599.

⁸ So Edward to the Pope, Foed. 615 ; and again addressing Parliament, "omnes salutavit, abiit iocosa," Mon. Malm. 287. The Ann. Paul. 308, give the date.

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But the negotiations in her hands seemed to make no better progress than before. An extension of the truce to the 9th June was the only concession that she could obtain from her brother.¹

French
require-
ments.

It was clear that Charles Le Bel understood his advantages, and meant to make the most of them. Edward was required to make a virtual surrender of his possessions in 'the Duchy of Guienne' to the King of France by authorizing him to appoint a seneschal to rule in the province in his name: all English troops to withdraw to Bayonne: Edward to appear at Beauvais on the 15th August to render homage in person, and, apparently, in unrestricted terms. That done, Charles would reinstate the King of England, save as to the territories recently occupied by the French. The right to these would be submitted to judicial investigation in the French courts. If adjudicated to Edward, they would be delivered to him subject to the payment of an indemnity for Charles' expenses in the war: if adjudicated to Charles, he would retain them without demanding any indemnity. These hard terms were accepted by the English envoys in Paris on the 31st May, and ratified by Edward on the 13th June.²

The reader will see that the scheme of the treaty was a simple repetition of the snare with which Edmund of Lancaster and Edward I had been beguiled in 1293.

Question
of the
King's
going.

The personal render of homage by the King was the basis of the whole treaty. Nevertheless the objections of the Despensers to Edward's going were such that the point whether he ought or ought not to go was submitted as an open question to a Grand Council specially summoned for the purpose.³ In spite of private threats and brow-beating by the younger Hugh the assembly rightly gave it as their opinion that the King ought to go.⁴

The King's departure being thus apparently settled, a

¹ Foed. II. 597.

² Foed. 599, 601. On the 1st June the day for the homage-render was enlarged to the 29th August.

³ Parly. Writs, II. i. 328.

⁴ 26 June; Mon. Malm. 282; Ann. Paul.; Itinerary.

question arose as to the appointment of a regent. One party proposed the elder Despenser, Earl of Winchester; the Opposition suggested Henry of Lancaster, now also Earl of Leicester.¹ But he was regarded with great suspicion by the King; a motion had been made to impeach him on the strength of a pious letter of condolence addressed to Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, in his tribulations.² An attempt had also been made to involve the Earl in a charge of witchcraft practised against the King.³ The difficulty was solved by the appointment of three neutral men, Henry Percy, John Clavering and Ralph Neville, to act as Joint Wardens.⁴ Preparations for the King's journey were kept up as if in earnest till the latter part of August.⁵ On the 24th of the month Edward writes to Charles that a sudden attack of illness will prevent his coming to Beauvais; the Bishop of Winchester is charged to make fresh arrangements. Oddly enough the treaty had specially provided that either King would be excused attendance in case of illness.⁶ Driven to extremity the favourites had bethought them of a plan. The King might confer Gascony and Ponthieu on his son Edward Earl of Chester; and Charles might be induced to accept the homage of his nephew. The Queen of course welcomed the proposal, and Charles readily acceded to it. But in England it was viewed with great disfavour. Charles might entangle the Heir Apparent in some undesirable marriage, or otherwise utilize him for his own ends. But the Despensers were not to be turned, their lives were at stake; and Edward, out of concern for their safety, to his credit be it said, stood by them.⁷ On the 2nd September

The King's son to render the homage.

¹ Mon. Malm. 284.

² Id. 280, 281, where the letter is given.

³ Parly. Writs, II. ii. 269; 4 November 1324; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 376, note. "This is the earliest trial for witchcraft entertained . . . it shows that necromancy was then considered as an offence at common law, not as a heresy;" Palgrave.

⁴ 20, 27 July; Parly. Writs, II. i. 730; ii. 274.

⁵ Foed. II. 604, 605.

⁶ Id. 606.

⁷ Baker, 19; Murimuth, 43, 44; Mon. Malm. 285.

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the young Earl of Chester, not quite thirteen years old, was invested with Ponthieu. Two days later Charles agreed to accept his homage. On the 10th September, probably on the receipt of his letters of consent, Aquitaine was made over to young Edward; on the 12th he sailed from Dover,¹ and about the 21st September the homage was rendered, in the Bois de Vincennes near Paris.²

The homage rendered, and all the requirements of the treaty complied with on Edward's part, he began to press for the return of his wife and son. He had begun ordering Isabelle to come home even before the homage was rendered; her obvious answer then was that she must wait to see the indispensable ceremony performed.³ Walter Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, ex-Treasurer,⁴ who had gone over in charge of young Edward, found Isabelle surrounded by exiles, his master's enemies. Unable to fall in with their designs he had to fly for his life by night.⁵ Any remaining doubt as to the Queen's attitude must have been dispelled when John Stratford, the Bishop of Winchester, came over with a letter from her, informing the King that she would not return to his court as long as Despenser was there. Meanwhile she had been offered a home by her brother; the Prince would remain with her. In his answer insisting on her return the King wonders how she could object to the younger Hugh, who had never done her any harm, but had always been her friend. 'How could there be any ill-feeling between two persons who so recently had parted in such friendly manner?'⁶

Isabelle
refuses to
come
home.

¹ Foed. II. 606-609. The chroniclers notice anxious discussions over the whole matter at Langdon and Dover; 1-4 September; Itinerary.

² Baker, 20; Walsing. I. 177. On the 2nd November the King refers to the homage as having been rendered; Foed. 610.

³ Edward's letter to her, 1 December; Foed. 625.

⁴ Stapledon was relieved of his office in the June Grand Council; and William Melton, Archbishop of York, was appointed to succeed him; Mon. Malm. 283. Stapledon's dismissal must have been the work of the Council.

⁵ Mon. Malm. 285, 286; Baker, 20; Murimuth, 46; and Edward's letter, Foed., sup.

⁶ See her letter to Archbishop Reynolds, Scriptores Decem, c. 2767, and Edward's letter to her, Foed., sup., also one to Charles, *ibid.* The Papal envoys

The fact was that Isabelle had found in Paris a lover and a champion in Roger Mortimer;¹ and that plans were being laid for the overthrow of the government at home. All the King's agents, except Stapledon, had given in to the plot, more or less. Among the deserters were the King's half-brother the Earl of Kent, his cousin the Earl of Richmond, and the former pet, Henry of Beaumont. Bishop Stratford, of course, owed the see of Winchester not to the King, but to a Papal Provision, granted to please the Queen, and in defiance of Edward's wishes. He could not be considered one specially attached to the King's service. Not so his co-negotiator, William of Ayreminne, newly appointed Bishop of Norwich. As Master of the Rolls he had repeatedly had the keeping of the Seal under successive Chancellors,² and so must have had much personal intercourse with the King. On the 6th July 1325 John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, died. The Chapter, at the King's request, elected Robert Baldock the Chancellor, but Ayreminne, taking advantage of his position at the French court as one of Edward's agents, obtained a Papal 'Provision' for himself; and so the luckless Baldock was supplanted for the second time.³

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Disloyal
agents.

Wrong-headed and unworthy as Edward was, it is impossible not to feel for him under the circumstances. Deserted by his wife, robbed of his son, surrounded by self-seeking servants and treacherous advisers, the unfortunate King had not one true friend left. Nevertheless, it does not seem too much to say that had he even now, at the eleventh hour, been capable of learning wisdom, had he had the resolution to dismiss the Despensers and take ministers acceptable to his subjects, Edward would probably have been able

had the audacity to suggest that Isabelle could not come to England with safety. So Edward complains to the Pope; Foed. II. 625, 15 April 1326. The Pope's conduct throughout had been altogether one-sided and treacherous.

¹ For Isabelle's relations with Roger see Murimuth (a man in the King's service at the time), 46; Baker, 20; Lanercost, 266; Avesbury, 281.

² See Foss, III. 187, 188.

³ Reg. Sacrum; Mon. Malm. 284, 285; Parly. Writs, II. ii. 284. Of course Ayreminne had received large preferment, six canonries, &c. Foss, 218.

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Parlia-
ment.

to save both his friends and himself. The loyalty of the nation would have risen in answer to a frank apology. But the obstinate booby was wedded to his own dull headstrong way.

The Queen's refusal to come home was communicated to a full Parliament that sat at Westminster from the 18th November to the 5th December.¹ The King addressed the assembly, and repeated the childish assurance that the Queen could not possibly have had any reason to complain of the younger Hugh, as she had taken so pleasant and friendly a leave of him.² All that the lieges could suggest was a joint letter by the bishops to the Queen urging her to return.³ Authority however was taken for arming the coasts in view of impending invasion.⁴ The Opposition took advantage of the moment to raise constitutional questions. A petition presented in the name of the 'commonalty' complained of manifold grievances; the illegal Forests had not been disafforested; cases of imprisonment of persons without due process of law were constantly occurring; the rights of tenants on estates forfeited to the Crown were disregarded. The question as to the Forests was met by the appointment of a special commission to inquire into the subject; as for other grievances persons having complaints to raise were told to lay them before the Chancellor.⁵

The Commons while they were about it might have complained of the general paralysis of law. We hear of repeated escapes of prisoners from jail; we hear of an Usher of the King's Chamber and a Baron of the Exchequer being assaulted and killed; we hear of a pitched battle in the streets between two parties among the students of Law, divided as North and South.⁶

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 334-346.

² "Nulli alii, me excepto, tam iocundam se exhibuit."

³ Mon. Malm. 287, 288.

⁴ Parly. Writs, II. i. 735.

⁵ Rot. Parl. I. 430.

⁶ Ann. Paul. 308-313; Chron. Lond. 48, A.D. 1324-1326.

CHAPTER X

EDWARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1326, 1327

The Queen refuses to return to Edward's Court.—Contracts alliance with Hainault.—Lands in Orwell.—Flight of King.—Execution of the Despensers.—King captured in Wales and sent to Kenilworth.—Proclamation of Edward III.—Abdication of Edward II.—His end and character.—Review of Reign.—Financial Summary.

THROUGHOUT the spring and summer of 1326 England was kept in a state of irritation and alarm by the King's measures for guarding against the invasion that now seemed no longer doubtful. Intercourse with the Continent cut off (except to merchants); export of horses, arms, and money forbidden; all ships coming to Dover searched for letters; Frenchmen put under arrest. Commission after commission of array is issued calling on men to be ready to turn out, but they never are called out. The bishops are specially appealed to, but the baronial retainers are left in peace.¹ The King could not trust them.

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1326
Uneasy state of England.

Across the Channel Isabelle was prosecuting her schemes. On the 5th February (1326) she writes to Archbishop Reynolds, in answer to the letter drafted in Parliament, that her sole cause for refusing to return is the 'bodily peril' in which she would find herself under the rule of the younger Hugh,² who has the King and whole country in his hands: 'she could wish for nothing better than to live and die in the company of her dear lord.'³

Isabelle keeping abroad.

The precious document is dated in Paris. But Isabelle shortly had to find other quarters. Her desertion of her husband, and her relations with Mortimer were becoming

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 735-749.

² "Pur le peril de nostre corps eschuver."

³ Script. Decem, sup., 2768.

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1326

Engages
her son to
Philippa of
Hainault.

notorious, and the Pope was warning Charles to give no further shelter to such a scandal.¹ Isabelle therefore moved, first into Ponthieu, and from thence again to the Flemish border.² In the Cambresis she received a visit from John of Hainault, a soldier of considerable experience, and brother to William II of Avesnes, the reigning Count of Holland Zeeland and Hainault. The Count had four daughters to dispose of, while Isabelle had a very eligible son. It was soon arranged that the young Duke of Aquitaine should be engaged to Philippa (*Philippe*) second daughter of the Count, while Isabelle in return would receive a military outfit for a landing in England.³ Edward must have heard of the intrigue in March, as on the 18th of the month he writes to his son forbidding him to marry without his consent, and once more peremptorily ordering him to come home.⁴

The connexion with Holland was not at all contrary to English interests, the Dutch being friendly allies, united by commercial interests.⁵ In fact the project of a marriage between young Edward and a daughter of the Count had actually been mooted in 1321, but dropped, apparently, on account of Papal opposition.⁶ But Edward now had a more ambitious match in view, namely one with an Infanta of Castile, Eleanor sister of Alphonso XI;⁷ the Queen's scheme therefore was most objectionable.

The Dutch alliance was finally settled at Valenciennes, when Isabelle sealed a treaty pledging herself to do her utmost to effect the marriage of her son with Philippa.⁸ By that time her plans had assumed so definite a shape as to be well known in England. On the 2nd and 3rd September Edward issued writs ordering shipping and the modest

¹ See the Pope's letter to Charles of the 15th February, pressing him to obviate "novitatis casus inauditus"; Epp. X. 1156, MS. 15368; cited Pauli, II. 291; also Jehan Le Bel, I. 11 (ed. Polain).

² De Nangis, Cont. I. 12; Le Bel, I. 12.

³ Le Bel, 14; Baker, 20. For the spelling of the lady's name see Register of John of Gaunt, s. 57, &c. (Camden Society, 1911).

⁴ Foed. II. 623. So again 630, where Edward threatens the boy with lifelong consequences if he fails to obey.

⁵ See Id. 614.

⁶ Id. 446.

⁷ Id. 587, 611, 617.

⁸ 27 August; Luce, Preface to Froissart, ci.

force of 500 men to be sent to the Orwell by the 21st of the month.¹ His attention had been chiefly directed to the South coast, where he apprehended a French landing. On Tuesday 23rd September Isabelle sailed from Dordrecht, and next day entered the Orwell, disembarking on the Suffolk side of the river, in the Hundred of Colnēsse, opposite Harwich. For the night she took up her quarters in Walton Castle, at the extremity of the promontory, a possession of the Earl of Norfolk.² In the Queen's train came young Edward, the King's brother the Earl of Kent, Roger Mortimer, John de Ros, Henry of Beaumont, and John of Hainault in command of a substantial body of mercenaries. The fleet that should have guarded the coast had taken care to keep out of the way. But the Dutch seamen, not caring to court an encounter, cleared their ships with such expedition as to be able to sail home before nightfall.³

And lands
in the
Orwell.

The King, who had been keeping watch on the South coast all August and most of September, came up to Westminster on the 22nd of the month, the day before Isabelle's landing. On the 25th September, doubtless on learning of that event, he thought it prudent to retire to the Tower, which had been carefully put in order and victualled.⁴ From that stronghold he issued proclamations contradicting the reports circulated by Isabelle, denouncing her purpose as being simply that of his 'disherison' and 'subjection to others'; and calling for the 'destruction' of her and all her company, except herself, his son and the Earl of Kent.⁵ Edward does not suggest that the Queen intended to depose him. Apparently the worst that he feared was a fresh scheme of Ordinances to be strictly enforced. His appeals fell on deaf ears; not a soul would raise a hand on his behalf; while Isabelle was promptly joined by the King's other half-brother Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, by

Move-
ments of
the King.

¹ Parly. Writs, II. i. 758.

² Ann. Paul. 313; Round, Eng. Hist. Rev. XIV. 104; Lanercost, 255.

³ Ann. Paul. 314; Chron. Lond. 51.

⁴ Chron. Lond. 49; Itinerary.

⁵ Foed. II. 643, 644; Parly. Writs

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 1326
 Queen's
 progress.

his cousin Henry "Wryneck" Earl of Lancaster, and a whole string of Bishops, including Orleton of Hereford, the King's old enemy, and Ayreminne of Norwich, the King's old servant, Hotham of Ely, a former chaplain, and Louis of Beaumont of Durham, the old *protégé*. Other prelates assisted with underhand supplies of money.¹ From Walton Castle the Queen moved to Bury, and from that again to Cambridge, Baldock, Dunstable, and Hertford, her march becoming a triumphal procession.²

King's
 flight.

On the 30th September Archbishop Reynolds, with Stephen Segrave the Bishop of London and Stratford of Winchester, made a feeble attempt to stay the flowing tide, by solemnly publishing Bulls of excommunication against disturbers of the peace; Bulls, by the way, obtained from the Pope years before for use against the Scottish raiders. But the proceeding was received with loud murmurs by the Londoners, and the King found it prudent to leave Town altogether, making his way by Acton and Wycombe to Wallingford (October 2-7). The Queen made a dash to catch him at Wallingford, but, warned in time, he escaped to Gloucester, and never halted till he had crossed the Severn. On the 14th October he signs at Tintern.³ Of the higher baronage only the Earls of Surrey and Arundel kept with him.

On the 15th October Isabelle issued a proclamation at Wallingford, calling on the nation to support her against the misgovernment of Despenser and Baldock, by whom 'the estate of church and realm had notoriously been blemished and abased'.⁴ No reference was made to the King, but some timid steps towards mediation having been taken by the clergy⁵ to nip the movement in the bud, Orleton was put up to expound from the pulpit the monstrous pretence that Isabelle's life would not be safe in her husband's court.⁶

¹ Murimuth, 46.

² Ann. Paul., sup.

³ Ann. Paul., sup.; Itinerary.

⁴ In French, Foed. II. 645.

⁵ For a meeting of bishops at Lambeth to endeavour to find a man who would venture to approach the Queen, see Dene, Anglia Sacra, I. 266.

⁶ Apologia Orleton, sup., c. 2766. Cf. Bridlington, 86, where the facts appear to be exactly inverted.

Some days earlier handbills from the Queen had been circulated in London, calling on the people to rise against Despenser and other enemies of the land. Under this instigation on the 15th October the mob rose, and compelled the helpless mayor¹ Hamond Chigwell to proclaim the expulsion of all enemies of 'King, Queen and their son'. The house of one John Marshal, one of Despenser's underlings, was attacked; he was dragged out and beheaded in Cheapside. Bishop Stapledon of Exeter was caught riding through the streets, he was unhorsed, carried to the cross in Cheapside, and likewise beheaded. Haymo Heath the Bishop of Rochester, sitting in his palace in Southwark heard the uproar, and fled for his life into Kent. The Archbishop had already retired from Lambeth, without warning his suffragan of impending dangers. He had evidently come to terms with the Queen. Next day the Tower was attacked, and the Constable John Weston forced to deliver John of Eltham, the King's younger son, who had been left in nominal charge of the place. He was sworn to make common cause with *le commune*; all hostages and prisoners were set free on the same condition.²

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1326

Londoners
rise.

From Wallingford Isabelle advanced to Oxford. Orleton preached before the University taking his text from Genesis iii. 15; 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed'; the allusion, as Orleton subsequently explained, being obviously to Despenser, and not to the King.³ Following the tracks of her husband, Isabelle went on to Gloucester, where her forces were strengthened by the accession of Percy, Wake, and other lords from the Marches and the North. Leaving Gloucester she moved to Berkeley Castle, where she reinstated the rightful owner, Thomas of Berkeley, who had been ousted by Despenser. The next stage took her to Bristol, which she reached on the 26th October. The elder Hugh Earl

Pursuit of
the King.

¹ "Mercy criant à jointes meyns."

² Chron. Lond. 51-54; Mon. Malm. Cont. 289; from Higden, VII. 43; Murimuth, 48.

³ Apologia Orleton, Twysden, c. 2765; Murimuth, 47.

of Winchester, had been left in command. To a man of ninety summers resistance and flight were equally hopeless. He opened his gates and the Queen took possession (26 October).¹

From Tintern, where we left him on the 14th October, Edward had moved to Striguil, otherwise Chepstow, where he remained till the 21st of the month, when he took ship with the younger Hugh and Baldock, endeavouring apparently to escape to Ireland, or Lundy Island recently acquired by Hugh. The Queen was told that when last seen the King was off Lundy Island, in the Bristol Channel.² The King having thus deserted his post, the way was open for the promotion of his son. The young Duke of Aquitaine was immediately proclaimed Warden (*Custos*) of the Realm, to hold office so long as his father should be absent. The Archbishop of Dublin, Alexander Bicknore, the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Hereford and Norwich, with the Earls of Norfolk, Kent and Lancaster attested the act in the name of the assembled Baronage.³ By this proceeding the Queen had shown her hand, and the ultimate ends of the expedition were indicated. On the morrow the Earl of Winchester was arraigned before a Commission of magnates, with William Trussel as presiding Judge,⁴ and condemned as a traitor, who had been banished by Parliament, but recalled without due leave; a robber of the land, and one who had advised the King to deprive the Church of her franchises. As Thomas of Lancaster had not been allowed to open his mouth in self-defence, so neither would he be allowed to speak. From judgement he was sent straightway to execution.⁵

The King's attempt at escape failed. Driven back by

¹ Murimuth, 48, 49.

² Baker, 22; Itinerary.

³ 26 October; Foed. II. 646; Parly. Writs, II. i. 349.

⁴ Trussel was not a judge of either of the higher courts at Westminster, nor a regular justice of assize. He was a Lancastrian and taken prisoner at Boroughbridge; he made his escape, and in 1323 was busy ravaging the estates of the Despencers. He joined the Queen in France and came back with her. Foss, Judges, III. 307.

⁵ Ann. Paul., q.v. for the indictment; Murimuth, 49.

foul winds he landed at Cardiff on the 26th October, where he remained till the 29th, when he moved to Caerphilly. In Glamorgan he would be among the retainers of the younger Hugh. To the last he kept issuing frantic calls to arms to which nobody listened.¹ On the 3rd and 4th November Edward rested at the Abbey of Margan or Margam; and on the 5th he moved to Neath, where he continued to sign till the 10th, when apparently he left the Abbey to seek for shelter among the native Welsh, and for six days was lost to the outer world.² In the meantime the Queen had advanced to Hereford; determined to run her husband down, she sent out Henry of Lancaster and William de la Zouche with one Rhys ap Howel, a Welsh clerk, supplied with means for negotiating with the natives with whom the King had taken refuge. The result was that on the 16th November he was delivered to Lancaster at Llantrisant. The younger Despenser, Robert Baldock and one Simon of Reading were taken with him; minor attendants were dismissed in peace.³

King
hunted
down

The King having returned to his 'dominions' the authority of the Warden would be at an end; and all orders would have to run in the King's name. It was necessary therefore to get possession of the Great Seal that Edward had kept in his own hands. Accordingly the unblushing Orleton was sent to Monmouth, where the King was, to relieve him of the talisman. Of course the helpless monarch had no option but to surrender it, to be used by his wife and son at their discretion (20th November).⁴ From Monmouth Edward was sent under the charge of his cousin Henry to Kenilworth, a Leicester possession.⁵

and sent
to Kenil
worth.

On the 2nd November the younger Despenser had been arraigned before a high commission, as his father had been, with William Trussel again as presiding judge. The first count in the indictment, as in his father's case, charged that,

¹ See *Foedera and Parly. Writs*, passim.

² *Itinerary*.

³ *Murimuth*, 49; *Baker*, 25; *Ann. Paul.* 319.

⁴ See the memorandum, *Foed.* II. 646. The Seal was placed under the charge of Ayreminne, the Bishop of Norwich, an old Keeper.

⁵ *Murimuth*, sup.; *Itinerary*.

CHAP. X

1326

Retalia-
tion.

being a condemned traitor banished by Parliament, he had returned without due leave. After that every miscarriage and calamity that had befallen England since his return, including the flight from Rievaulx, was laid on his head, with the grossest perversion of facts. But the retaliatory spirit of the proceedings is shown by the prominence given to the executions of Earl Thomas and his followers as crimes of which Hugh was specially guilty. Again like his father he was forbidden to speak because Thomas had been forbidden to speak.¹ In the same spirit Arundel, at Mortimer's request, had been executed on the 17th of the month, his crime being the fact that he was one of those who sat in judgement on Thomas.² Fifty feet high Despensers was hung, his follower Reading, who had ventured to speak lightly of the Queen's conduct, being hung on the same gallows, only ten feet lower down.³

Baldock as an ecclesiastic was not amenable to the same treatment; he was placed under the charge of the Bishop of Hereford, who early in February sent him up to his London house, but under insufficient guard, so that the Londoners seized him and thrust him into Newgate, where he died of hardships and ill-treatment (28 May, 1327).⁴

Parlia-
ment.

The first use of the Great Seal made by Isabelle was to summon a Parliament to ratify and complete the work of the revolution. On the 3rd December writs were issued for a session to meet on the 7th January (1327).⁵ London since the outbreak of the 15th October had been in a state of complete anarchy, the authorities being unable

¹ See the lengthy indictment, Knighton, 2547. Among other counts we may notice that Hugh is made responsible not only for the King's attack on the Bishop of Hereford's property, of which we have heard, but also for similar proceedings against the other opposition Bishops of Lincoln, Ely, and Norwich, of which we have not heard; c. 2548.

² Chron. Lond. 56. Arundel, however, had married his son to Hugh's daughter; Knighton, 2546.

³ Walsingham, II. 185; Ann. Paul. 320; Chron. Lond. sup.

⁴ Ann. Paul. 320; Murimuth, 50; Baker, 25, 26; Foss, Judges, III. 225.

⁵ Parly. Writs, II. i. 350. Irregular writs, not under the Seal, for a Parliament to meet on the 15th December had been issued at Bristol on the 28th October. These were now superseded.

to maintain order;¹ and when Parliament met on the appointed day an unbidden crowd of citizens poured in to watch the proceedings.² Considering the delicate nature of the matters to be dealt with it is not surprising to find that no official report of the proceeding was drawn up, and that the Parliament Rolls content themselves with recording the private petitions presented during the session.

When business was opened it would seem that the King's absence was commented on. Bishop Orleton, who, as the Queen's right-hand man, and the soul of the conspiracy, led the proceedings, answered with the old calumny that the Queen's life would not be safe in her husband's hands. Finally, coming to the point, he put it to the assembly, whether they would have the father or the son to reign over them. With that he adjourned them to the morrow to think over the matter. Next day he repeated the question; the King's friends, overawed by the mob, held their peace; only the Queen's partisans ventured to speak. A general declaration in favour of the son was thus obtained. The young Duke was then brought in; homage was rendered to him, and he was shown to the people in Westminster Hall, 'Behold your King.' Only four prelates had the courage to refuse allegiance to him, namely, William of Melton Archbishop of York, Nicholas Segrave Bishop of London, Haymo Heath of Rochester, and John of Ross of Carlisle.³ The servile judges in attendance on the Parliament endeavoured to bully them into compliance, and threatened them with consequences, but the loyal ecclesiastics held firm.

The son had thus been set up, but the father "had neither resigned nor been deposed".⁴ It was therefore agreed that a deputation of bishops should be sent to request the

¹ Bands of young ruffians went about looting the houses of unpopular characters, and even laying hands on hoards deposited in sanctuaries; the counting-house of the Bardi was broken into, the younger Hugh having money there; the Courts were all closed; the marauders were known as "riffles", and their proceedings as "rifflinge"; Ann. Paul. 321.

² "Et praecipue cives Londinienses cum magno strepitu ad Parliamentum convenerunt;" Dene, 367.

³ Dene, sup.

⁴ Lingard.

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King's attendance in Parliament to concur in some 'just and suitable arrangement with respect to the Crown';¹ i.e. some act of abdication in favour of his son. Stratford and Orleton went to Kenilworth, and saw the King. Dull and slow of comprehension, even now he failed to realize his position. He refused to listen to the bishops' reasoning; cursed them as traitors, and drove them from his presence.

Indict-
ment of
the King.

On the 12th January the two reported to Parliament the failure of their mission.² More vigorous action on the Queen's part thus became necessary. On the 13th Stratford boldly published as a resolution of the Parliament a self-styled 'Accord' for crowning young Edward, and placing the government of the country in his hands.³ Six articles of impeachment against the father were appended as justification for the act; he was unfit to govern, he himself had always been led and governed by others, evil counsellors who led him astray; he had refused to listen to the advice of the great and wise men of the realm; he had neglected public business, giving himself up to unseemly (*nient covenables*) pursuits; he had caused the loss of Scotland, Gascony and Ireland; he had 'destroyed' the Church, imprisoning some churchmen, and reducing others to utter distress;⁴ he had also put to death, imprisoned, exiled, and disinherited many great and noble laymen; he had broken his coronation oath by failing to render justice to all; finally he had done his best to bring the realm to ruin, and had been found 'incorrigible' beyond all hope of amendment.⁵

Beating
the drum.

Orleton followed with a sermon on the text "*Rex insipiens perdet populum suum*", dwelling on Edward's deficiencies till the excited audience cried 'Away with him'.⁶ In the

¹ "Ad ordinandum pro corona . . . cum suis ligiis quod deceret et quod justicia suaderet."

² Lanercost, 267; also the Canterbury letter given Parly. Writs, II. i. 457.

³ "Accordé est que sire Edward le fiz aïsne du Roy ait le gouvernement," &c.

⁴ See above, pp. 143 and 160 note, for attacks on the opposition prelates.

⁵ See the account in French as subsequently produced in self-defence by Orleton, Twysden, sup., c. 2765. The Chron. Lond. 57 gives the date.

⁶ Lanercost, sup.

afternoon, as we may suppose, a grand demonstration was held in the City. As if to get up a cry for the young King and our old franchises, Roger Mortimer went down to the Guildhall with the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin and a string of prelates, when a preposterous (and insidious) oath was administered to all, pledging them to stand by Isabelle Queen of England and 'Edward now (*ore*) King of England in their quarrel against Hugh le Despenser and Master Robert Baldock';—as if those men had not already been got rid of. The oath then went on to bind all to save and keep the franchises of the City of London.¹ Hammering away, Bishop Stratford preached on the 14th on the text "*Caput meum doleo*";² while finally on the next day again, popular feeling having been brought to the proper pitch, "the wretched Archbishop Reynolds" summed up with a discourse on the theme *Vox populi vox Dei*; dwelling on Stratford's 'Accord', and proclaiming the fact that by 'universal consent' the elder Edward had been deposed, and his son appointed to succeed him.³ The reader will see the amount of beating up found necessary. He need not be reminded that this same Archbishop Reynolds was the man who took it on him to proclaim that the condemnation of the Despensers by Parliament was illegal.

But still, to secure the position of the chief actors in the dangerous game, and avoid reaction, it was held advisable to obtain by whatever means the abdication of the actual King. For that purpose a fresh deputation comprising bishops, earls, barons, abbots, justices, friars, and representatives of the counties and boroughs, twenty-four men in all, was sent to Kenilworth.⁴

For the scenes that ensued we have a report derived from

¹ See Ann. Paul. 322, 323. An extract from the Canterbury Registers given Parly. Writs, II. i. 457, refers to this oath as taken on the first day of the Parliament, which is clearly wrong. Reynolds, in spite of his taking the oath, was very unpopular in the city, and only escaped being mobbed by promising a gift of fifty casks of wine; Ann. Paul.

² 2 Kings iv. 19.

³ Lanercost, sup.

⁴ Id.; Chron. Lond. 57; Parly. Writs, sup. The Friars Minors begged to be excused, and the Queen, who favoured them, assented. The Preachers were supporters of the King and were forced to go.

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1327

one who was on the deputation.¹ Stratford and Burghersh of Lincoln had a preliminary interview with Edward in his inner chamber, in the presence of Henry "Wryneck", his keeper. They coaxed him on the one hand with promises of undiminished respect and honour, if he would abdicate in favour of his son; while on the other hand they pressed him with threats of rejecting his line entirely, and taking some one not of his blood, if he still held out. Weeping and sobbing,² for the sake of his son, and the peace of the realm, Edward gave in. Robed in sable³ he was then taken to face the deputation, arranged in the outer chamber, in due order of precedence, each man according to his dignity. At the sight of the hostile array, without one friendly face among them, the King broke down, sinking in a fainting fit.⁴ Stratford and Leicester hastened to his assistance. When he had sufficiently recovered himself, Orleton took up his parable again, propounding the dismal alternatives of resignation or deposition. With fresh groans and tears⁵ at the thought that the people should so hate and reject him, Edward ended by saying that if his son was more acceptable, they might have him for their King. Next day William Trussel, in the name of the delegation and those whom they represented, renounced their homages, and Thomas Blount, the Steward of the Household, broke his staff of office, as a token that the reign of the Second Edward had come to an end.⁶ The deputation then went back to London, carrying the Insignia of Royalty with them.⁷ On the 25th January, being presumably the day of their return, the new King's Peace was proclaimed, and the reign of Edward son of Edward was held to have begun.⁸ The 1st of February had already been fixed for the coronation,

Ed-
ward III
king.

¹ See Baker, 27, who tells us that he translates an account of the proceedings penned in French by his patron, Thomas de la More.

² "Non sine singultibus lacrimis et suspiriis."

³ "Togam nigram indutus."

⁴ "Impos effectus corruit expansus."

⁵ "Cum fletu et ejulatu."

⁶ 20, 21 January; Baker, 27, 28; Murimuth, sup. The date and words of Trussel's renunciation are given by Knighton, Twysden, 1550; see also Ann. Paul. 324; and Chron. Lond., sup.

⁷ Walsingham, I. 187.

⁸ Chron. Lond., sup.

and persons claiming to perform ceremonial functions had been ordered to send in their pretensions.¹

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1327

The ex-King.

A big, dull, unmannerly oaf, a spoilt grown-up child, of low tastes, without dignity or sense of duty, short-sighted, but obstinate and vindictive, Edward was, in Stratford's words, 'incorrigible', and 'unfit to reign'. The charge of having caused the loss of Scotland, Ireland and Gascony was somewhat far-fetched, but in other respects the Bishop's indictment must be considered in the main sufficiently well founded, from his point of view, namely, that of the territorial magnate. Edward had systematically neglected his duties, and disregarded the wishes of his subjects; he had refused to listen to those best entitled to offer advice; he had put himself in the hands of favourites distasteful to the nation, and had indulged them in gross illegalities. But again it must be pointed out that the class most aggrieved by Edward's shortcomings were the magnates. He had fallen out with them from the beginning. They were the men who were shocked by his bad manners and low company; who found themselves elbowed out of his presence by petted favourites, they were the men plundered by the Despensers. The commonalty under Edward were not oppressed. They would echo the complaints of their lords, no doubt, but apart from the ravaging of the Northern counties, for which the King, no doubt, was responsible, and the famines for which he was not responsible, the people were said to be well off,² much better off than under the glorious rule of his father. There was far less taxation, no extortions of Fifths or Moieties, far less conscription, no foreign service, no winter campaigns in Scotland. But the king who

¹ There has been some difference between the authorities as to the date of the beginning of the reign. In Foed. II. 683, the 24th January is given; so too the Red Book of the Exchequer, III. 1067, "Data . . . mutatur singulis annis xxiiii die mensis Januarii." But the Customs Accounts and other records show that the reign began on the 25th January. See below.

² See the remarkable passage in the Scalacr. 150. "Les comunes de soun realme furont en soun temps riches, et maintenuz en reudes (qy. reules, *strict*) loys, mes lez grantz ly avoint cointre quer pur crualte et desordene vie qil menoit, et par cause du dit Hugh," &c.

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1327

Ultimate
cause of
his fall.A
Threnody.Successive
jailers.

cannot get on with the leaders of the nation is unfit to rule, and for the deposition of an unworthy king no justification need be sought. Anyhow England could show the precedents of Eadwig, rejected by Mercia and Northumbria in 957, and that of the "unredy" Æthelred expelled in 1014. Still many princes little better fitted to rule than Edward have lived out their days in peace, if not in honour. But, with the whole Baronage alienated, Edward, at the last, undoubtedly succumbed to a coalition between his offended wife and the Lancastrians. The reign might be described as the epic, the dismal epic, of the contentions of two very uninteresting characters, Edward of Carnarvon and Thomas of Lancaster. Their differences assumed a personal character from the very first. Thomas, if not better fitted to direct the helm of the State than Edward, had nevertheless stuff enough in him to keep a loyal party together. Edward owed his fall to the impolitic severities indulged in after Boroughbridge, and, perhaps almost in an equal degree, to the insult offered to Isabelle by placing her under the *surveillance* of Lady Despenser.

Uncultured as Edward seems to have been, it is somewhat singular that we should have some touching lines of his composition written, of course in French, while he was in captivity at Kenilworth. A certain childishness is betrayed by the lament that his misfortunes should have befallen him about Christmas, the time of mirth, as if that was the unkindest cut of all.¹

But we must follow Edward's life to its tragic ending. His doom was sealed from the day of his deposition. So long as he lived none of his enemies could be safe; any chance incident might lead to an outburst of loyal feeling, and if by any chance he could manage to escape, a counter-revolution would at once be started. For three months more, however, Edward was left at Kenilworth, under the charge of his cousin Lancaster.² But Henry *Au tort col* (Wryneck) as he was called treated his prisoner too well.

¹ See at the end of the chapter.

² This arrangement was sanctioned by Parliament; Rot. Parl. II. i. 52.

The comforts of the ex-King were attended to; at any rate, it was clear that the Earl would never stoop to the requisite depths of infamy. On the night of the 3rd-4th April, therefore, Edward was removed from Kenilworth under the charge of Thomas of Berkeley, the man reinstated by the Queen, and John Maltravers the younger;¹ the arrangement apparently being that they should have the keeping of him on alternate months, with power to move him about as they thought fit. Thomas was son-in-law to Mortimer, being married to his daughter Margaret, while Maltravers was brother-in-law to Thomas, being husband of his sister Eva.² Thomas, and probably Maltravers also, had been active in harrying the Despenser estates in 1321.

On the 5th April Edward came to Lantony Abbey, near Gloucester, under the charge of Maltravers and a strong guard;³ and the same day, "then beinge palmsunday," reached Berkeley Castle "at supper time".⁴ From Berkeley the fallen king was taken to Corfe, then to Bristol, then back again finally to Berkeley. He was usually made to travel at night; while the place of his detention as far as possible was kept a secret: the object being to keep him out of sight and out of mind, till he had disappeared for ever.⁵

Isabelle was especially afraid that the clergy might refuse to connive at her intercourse with Mortimer; that they might even insist upon her returning to cohabit with her husband. To guard against this danger, and also provide against the possibility of finding herself by some means or other brought face to face with him, she summoned a Grand Council to meet at Stamford, and obtained from them a declaration that they would never sanction such an interview.⁶

¹ Rot. Parl. II i. 57.

² Complete Peerage.

³ Ann. Paul. 333.

⁴ Berkeley Accounts, cited Smyth, *Lives of Berkeleys*, I. 293 (1883).

⁵ Murimuth, 53, 54; Baker, 28-30; Walsingham, I. 188. £5 a day were now allowed for Edward's keep. But Thomas of Berkeley received in all from the Exchequer £1,200 for Edward's custody. That would include the wages of the guard. Berkeley Accounts, sup. and 294; and Foed., sup. According to Baker, 100 marks = £66 13s. 8d. per month had been allowed.

⁶ Apol. Orleton, sup., c. 2767; Foed. II. 703, 704. The writs for the Council were issued on the 15th April. Edward III was at Stamford 23rd and 24th April.

CHAP. X

1327

Changes
of treat-
ment.

With this assurance to encourage them, Mortimer and Isabelle could now direct the keepers to proceed with their horrible work. Their instructions seemingly were to kill their victim by inches, or at all events to drive him mad. He was never to see or be seen by anybody that they could help. He was obliged to ride bareheaded and thinly clad; he was deprived of his proper sleep; he was given unwholesome or unpalatable food. Everything that he said was contradicted; he was constantly told that he was out of his mind. Approaching Bristol, on their way from Corfe to Berkeley, some hostile movement in the city being feared, the party took up their quarters in a grange outside. When the time to depart came, the guard plaited a crown of hay, put it on Edward's head, and then told him mockingly to go on. "*Avant Sire Kyng!*" Finally, coming to Berkeley, they turned to the left, to approach the castle through swampy ground by the Severn; it then occurred to them to disguise the ex-King, by shaving his head and beard. They dismounted him, placed him on a mole-hill, and brought him ditch-water to shave with; 'Cold water,' they said, 'was good enough for him'. Bursting into tears he answered, 'I shall have hot water whether ye will or not.'¹

Isabelle
getting
impatient.

But the constitution of an athletic man of forty-three does not break down under such petty assaults. In spite of physical and moral annoyances Edward lived on. With the prolongation of his existence dangers began to thicken round Mortimer and Isabelle. The Scots broke the truce, and invaded the Northern counties.² Thomas Dunhead and other Dominicans openly preached the cause of the dethroned monarch.³ Troubles were reported from Ireland; while disorders broke out in London (July).⁴ Towards the

¹ So Baker, 30, 31. He tells us that he had the story some twenty-two years later from William Bishop, Captain of Edward's guard.

² June-July; Foed. II. 708.

³ June; Ann. Paul. 337; Lanercost, 260; Chron. Lond. 58; Cal. Pat. Roll 1 Edw. III, 156. Dunhead continued his efforts on behalf of Edward after the death of the latter. He was used to ensnare the Earl of Kent in 1330, and himself died in prison; Lanercost, 260, 265.

⁴ Foed. 709-711.

end of August an attempt on Berkeley Castle was reported.¹ Half-measures having failed, and delays being dangerous, the word was given to cut short the end. We must only hope that Mortimer, rather than Isabelle, gave the word.²

A last attempt to get rid of Edward by suffocating him with the effluvia of putrid meat having failed, recōurse was had to violence. On the night of the 21st September³ The end. screams of agony from Edward's chamber told the conscience-stricken inmates of the castle that some hideous deed was being wrought. When daylight came the dethroned King was found dead in his bed. The clergy and gentry of the neighbourhood were called in to attest the fact, and the further circumstance that the body bore no marks of violence. It was, however, understood that death had been brought about by the forcible intrusion of a red-hot iron through a drenching-horn into the bowels of the victim.⁴ Thomas of Gurney was at once sent by Berkeley, with letters to Isabelle and the young King at Nottingham, to report the ex-King's death.⁵ The corpse remained at Berkeley for a month, Thomas still drawing the £5 a day for the custody of it. At the end of the month it was taken by Abbot Thokey in his own chariot covered with black canvas, and escorted by "the lord Berkeley's family", to St. Peter's, Gloucester, to await a final interment on the 20th December. Other monasteries had refused to receive the remains. The heart had been removed, as commonly done, and enclosed in a silver vase.⁶ A few years later the existing tomb, with its elegant pinnaced canopy, was erected by the care of Edward III. The shrine became highly popular; and it was said that the offerings supplied the funds for encasing the Norman walls of the church with Perpendicular tracery.⁷

¹ Foed. II. 714. See also Mon. Malm. 290; Walsingham, II. 189.

² In 1331 it was alleged in Parliament by Edward III that Mortimer had confessed that the late King had been murdered by his "procurement"; Rot. Parl. II. 62.

³ Berkeley Castle Accounts, sup.; Foed. 708.

⁴ Baker, 33, 34; Murimuth, 55; Knighton, sup., 2552; Walsingham, I. 189; Hemingburgh, II. 297.

⁵ Berkeley Accounts, sup., 293.

⁶ Id.

⁷ J. R. King, Handbook to Cathedrals.

CHAP. X
 1330
 Inquests.

No inquiries were instituted as to the circumstances attending the ex-King's death so long as Isabelle and Mortimer remained in power. In fact only a few months before Mortimer's fall Maltravers was called to Parliament as a Peer.¹ For the sake of convenience we may be here allowed to anticipate events. The next Parliament, held later in that same year (1330), witnessed Roger's fall, and proceedings were at once instituted against Maltravers, Gurney, William of Ogle and Berkeley.

Maltravers was simply charged with having lured the Earl of Kent to destruction by telling him that Edward was alive, well knowing him to be dead. It is probable that he was not at Berkeley Castle at the time of the murder. He was, however, condemned for the deceptions practised on the unfortunate Edmund, who wished to believe that his brother might still be alive.² Having absconded, fifteen years later Maltravers surrendered to the King in Flanders, was pardoned,³ and served both at Crécy and Poitiers: he died in 1364.

Gurney and Ogle were charged with the actual murder,⁴ of which they were doubtless guilty. Both fled to the Continent. Ogle is not heard of again, and presumably died abroad. Gurney was traced to Spain, and from thence to Italy. He was arrested at Naples, and died at Bayonne on the way home.⁵

Berkeley was arraigned before the King in Parliament (1330) and asked how he could clear himself of complicity in the murder of the late King, perpetrated at his castle, and while the King was under his charge, and that of John Maltravers. Thomas had the effrontery to say that he had never been a 'consenting aiding or procuring' party to the late King's death; in fact he had never heard anything about it till the then Parliament, as he could prove.⁶

¹ 25 January 1330; Complete Peerage.

² Rot. Parl. II. 53, 55. For Kent's affair, see below.

³ Foed. III. 56, 146. The pardon was confirmed by Parliament; Rot. Parl. II. 243.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 54.

⁵ July 1333. See Mr. Hunter's article, *Archaeologia*, XXXVI. 274. Gurney was a Lancastrian, who forfeited after Boroughbridge.

"Nec usquam scivit de morte sua usque in praesenti Parlamento."

(Very likely!) Pressed for his evidence, he said that at the time when the late King was alleged to have been 'murdered and killed', he was not at Berkeley but at Bradley, so ill that he could remember nothing;¹ and for the truth of that he 'put himself upon his country', i.e. claimed an Inquest. The damning testimony of the Berkeley domestic accounts shows that Thomas did not leave Berkeley Castle for Bradley till a week after the event.² Nevertheless a jury of knights, accepting his word, found that he was not at Berkeley at the time, but at Bradley, and so was innocent of the death of the King. The question of negligence in leaving him under the care of Gurney and Ogle, however, remained, and on that account he was placed under the charge of the Steward of the Household, to be shortly let out on bail (1331). In the next Parliament he was relieved of his bail; and in 1333 summoned to Parliament.³ But though attending Parliaments he was not finally absolved till 16 March 1337.⁴ He was in high command at Crécy, and finally died in 1361. Thus the subordinates suffered; the principals got off scot-free.

Of course popular feeling for the dethroned King sprang up after his death. The question began to be mooted whether he might not be as well entitled to saintly honour as Thomas of Lancaster.⁵ The next thing was to assert that he was not dead but alive, and that he had escaped from Berkeley.⁶

Post-humous honours.

The reign is a dismal one, unrelieved by any bright spot. The King's want of moral tone seems to have infected the

¹ "In tanta infirmitate . . . quod nichil ei currebat memorie."

² Smyth, sup., 296.

³ Rot. Parl. 57, 62; Smyth, sup.

⁴ Foed. II. 960.

⁵ Walsingham and Mon. Malm. sup.

⁶ A few years ago a letter addressed to Edward III, and purporting to be written by Manuel Fieschi, Canon of York, was found in the archives of the department of the Herault. The document professes to give a 'confession' made by Edward II, detailing the circumstances of his escape from Berkeley Castle, and of his wanderings up and down the Continent, till he settled as a pious recluse in Lombardy. A tablet on the wall of the castle of Melazzo in Piedmont, a place named in the letter (castri Melasci), professes to bear witness to Edward's sojourn there. The Cartulary in which the letter is found was drawn up in 1365. See Bp. Stubbs, Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II, vol. II, ciii; and Macmillan's Mag. XLI. 393. One might suggest that the letter was a pious fraud, written to relieve Edward's conscience of compunctions as to the circumstances of his accession.

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1330

Constitutional
importance
of the
reign.

whole aristocracy, and the aristocracy was still the nation. The reign however has considerable interest from the constitutional point of view. However revolutionary their action, all parties are careful to use constitutional language, and, as far as possible, observe constitutional forms. The leaders of the nation were evidently resolved to make good, and, if possible, improve upon the advantages gained under Edward I. The reign opens with a coronation oath of novel stringency, followed immediately by an effort to give effect to its requirements. Then we have the Ordinances, enacted and re-enacted in earnest endeavour to curtail the Royal authority. Their significance will not be done away with even if we should consider the leaders of the movement to have been actuated, quite as much by personal pique against the King, as by honest zeal for reform. The close of the struggle, at any rate, marks a most important constitutional gain. The Baronial Ordinances had been sanctioned by Parliament, but they had not been initiated in Parliament. This, Edward held, was a fatal defect. For the future, whatever is to be established for the estate of King, realm and people must be 'treated accorded and established in Parliament, by the King and by the consent of the prelates earls and barons and the commonalty of the realm, as hath been heretofore accustomed'. The necessity of popular co-operation for all valid legislation is here laid down, and by implication the right of legislating by Ordinance is finally renounced. Thus, as we have already observed, for the sake of picking a hole in the objectionable Ordinances, Edward enunciates "a more elaborate formula of constitutional law" than any yet known.¹

No legis-
lation
except
through
Parlia-
ment.

Throughout the reign we are constantly hearing of Parliamentary action. Every revolution is sanctioned and ratified by a Parliament. By Parliaments Gaveston is banished, and the Despensers are successively banished and recalled; Parliament is asked to sanction the confiscation of the estates of the fallen Lancastrians; finally

¹ Statutes, I. 190; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 369.

Parliament sets up a new King, if it does not formally depose the old one. Each political party as it gains the upper hand uses Parliament as its instrument. This enduring feature of our system may be said to date from the reign of the Second Edward.

The finance of the reign need not detain us long. The taxation was on the same lines as under Edward I, and presents no features of novelty. The chief point to be noticed is that our researches do not support the view of previous writers that Edward's difficulties were chiefly financial, and that his revenue was insufficient. In fact he had no reason to complain of any want of liberality on the part of his subjects. He enjoyed a handsome revenue, not quite equal to that of his father, but still very sufficient. If the reader will look at the totals paid in through the Pell Rolls during the early years of the reign, as shown on our Table B, comparing them with the corresponding totals for the previous reign, as shown in a previous work,¹ he will see that the former totals greatly exceed the latter. In fact the Pell receipts alone of Edward II for the first eight years exceed the combined Pell and Wardrobe receipts of the corresponding years of his father's reign. But the Wardrobe receipts for those eight years of Edward II's reign are wanting,² so that we cannot say what his total income for that period was, and so no real comparison can be drawn. On the other hand if we take the six years between 1316 and 1322 for which the accounts are complete, we shall find an income running in round numbers from £60,111 to £112,664 a year, the latter being a sum greater than any that we found for any single year of the reign of Edward I. But his son's average only comes to £86,387 a year; whereas we found £95,000 as the average revenue of the prior reign.³ The reader may rest assured that our estimate of the Revenue is not above the mark. But it

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Average
revenue.

¹ Dawn of the Constitution, Appendix, Table A.

² For the Wardrobe Accounts and their relation to the Pell Rolls, see Dawn, 291, 531. The revenue was paid in partly through the one channel and partly through the other.

³ See Dawn, 538.

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may be below it, owing to the mischievous practice of granting 'assignments'. An assignment was an order by the King to a receiver of some branch of the Revenue to pay a certain sum to a named individual. The payment would figure in the receiver's special accounts, but not in either Pell or Wardrobe accounts.¹ But with a man who troubled himself so little with public affairs as the Second Edward the amount of these may not have been very considerable. His extravagance was in the way of wholesale grants of perfect appanages of land and titles.

Parlia-
mentary
grants.

The frequent calls for large bodies of men for abortive expeditions, at the King's expense, must, no doubt, have weighed heavily on the Exchequer; but Edward was not left without means for all reasonable purposes, at least so long as he kept on decent terms with his subjects. The grants made by Parliament and Convocation were distinctly liberal, the grants by the clergy being in fact grants by Avignon Popes. In the year of his accession (1307) Edward received a Twentieth from the counties and a Fifteenth from the boroughs, with a Fifteenth of Spirituals and Temporals from the clergy : ² in 1309 he had a Twenty-fifth from the laity, with Tenths from the clergy, granted for three years by Clement V.³ In 1311 he had from Canterbury 12*d.* on the mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) from Spiritualities. In 1313 he had a Twentieth and Fifteenth from the laity; with 4*d.* on the mark of Spiritualities; from Canterbury; and the same from York in the following year.⁴ But he had also managed to 'borrow' £8,666 13*s.* 4*d.* from Canterbury in 1313.⁵ In 1314 again he extracted £6,666 14*s.* from the Southern Province. In 1315 the King had a Twentieth and Fifteenth from the laity, with a Tenth from the clergy. In January 1316 we have a Sixteenth granted by the counties; but nothing from the towns; ⁶ in the following

¹ See Dawn of Constitution, 532. For a signal case of assignment see below under Edward III.

² Parly. Writs, II. i. 8, 9. The clerical grant does not appear on the Enrolled Accounts cited below; probably it figured on an earlier roll that I did not get.

³ Foed. II. 87.

⁴ Reg. Pal. Dunelm. I. 636.

⁵ Parly. Writs.

⁶ So the Enrolled Accounts; the Parly. Writs have a Fifteenth from the boroughs.

October the clergy gave another Tenth. In 1317 the King had a clerical Tenth to which Scotland, Wales and Ireland were required to contribute, but with little gain. In 1319 the York Parliament granted an Eighteenth from the counties, with a Twelfth from the boroughs, while the Canterbury clergy under orders from John XXII gave another Tenth. In 1321-1322 we have 5*d.* on the mark of Spiritualities, while lastly in 1322-1323 we have a Tenth from the counties, and a Sixth from the boroughs and demesnes, with two more Tenths from the clergy, and there the supplies of the reign seem to end.¹ A mysterious entry on the Pell Receipt Roll for Easter 18 (1325) speaks of a Fifteenth and Tenth as having been granted that year. We must question if it was collected, if granted. The Enrolled Accounts know nothing of it. The Tenth and Sixth of 1322 is immediately followed on the Rolls by the first grant of the reign of Edward III.

The details of the sums paid in under the more important of these grants, are given by the Enrolled Accounts, but without the totals, involving a laborious process of addition. With respect to the five clerical Tenths prior to the year 1317 these were taken on the assessment of Pope Nicholas IV of the year 1291, amounting to £210,644 9*s.* 9*d.*² From 1317 onwards, in consequence of the ravages of the Scots the assessment was reduced to £191,903 2*s.* 5¼*d.* and the York Tenth lowered from £4,000, in round numbers, to £2,384 10*s.* Under the old valuation the Tenth of 1309 on the Enrolled Accounts comes to about £20,000, in round numbers, so that the five Tenths prior to 1317 may be taken together as making £100,000, besides £5,778 of arrears got in from earlier grants. But the Tenth granted in 1317, with Scotland, Wales and Ireland included, comes only to £19,229 10*s.* 7*d.*, the assessment of the Northern Province having been 'relaxed' as above mentioned. The Tenth of 1319 again might be taken as £19,000. The three

Yield of
the Tenths.

¹ See L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, namely, for the Clerical Subsidies, No. 3, and for the Lay Subsidies, No. 14.

² See Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 580, 581.

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remaining Tenth appear to have yielded £18,000 each, or £54,000 in all. The grants of 12*d.* and 4*d.* on the mark of Spirituals being given for defence need hardly figure in the Royal accounts, the 12*d.* on the mark from Canterbury might bring in £2,687 10*s.*¹

Yield of
Lay Sub-
sidies.

For the lay subsidies we find the Fifteenth and Twentieth of 1307 producing £38,000 in round numbers, and we take the same amount for the like subsidies granted in 1313 and 1315. The Twenty-fifth of 1309 yielded £33,000, while the Sixteenth of 1316 from the counties gave £35,407. The Fifteenth from the demesnes exacted in 1317 produced £4,000, while the Eighteenth and Twelfth granted in 1319 furnished £36,396, and the Tenth and Sixth of 1322-1323 £41,510.²

For the sake of clearness we append a Table of these grants :

CLERICAL		LAY	
	£		£
(1) 1307. Fifteenth, say	15,000	(1) 1307. Fifteenth and Twen-	
(2) 1309-1316. Five Tenths on		tieth	38,000
old Valuation	100,000	(2) 1309. Twenty-fifth, Coun-	
(3) 1313. Benevolences	8,666	ties and Boroughs	33,000
(4) 1314. Same	6,666	(3) 1313. Fifteenth and Twen-	
(5) 1317. Crusade Tenth	19,229	tieth	38,000
(6) 1319. Same, say	19,000	(4) 1315. Same	38,000
(7) 1320-1322. Three Tenths,		(5) 1316. Sixteenth from	
say	54,000	counties	35,407
	<u>£222,561</u>	(6) 1317. Fifteenth from de-	
		mesnes	4,000
		(7) 1319. Eighteenth and	
		Twelfth	36,396
		(8) 1322. Tenth and Sixth	41,510
			<u>£264,313</u>

Spread over the 16 years in course of which these grants would be collected we get an average for the clerical grants of £13,910 and for the lay grants one of £16,519, together providing £30,429 a year towards an average revenue of £86,387.

¹ L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Subsidies, Clerical, No. 3.

² Id., Lay, No. 14.

For the Customs we append a Table of the returns, CHAP. X
 year by year throughout the reign so far as extant. The 1307-1327
 duties were levied at the rates established in 1303, except Customs.
 from the 6th October 1311 to the end of November 1322,
 during which period the *Nova Custuma* was suspended by
 order of Parliament on the constitutional plea that the
Carta Mercatoria of Edward I, under which those duties were
 imposed, had not been sanctioned by Parliament, but only
 by an assembly of merchants.¹ Our Table A will give a fair
 view of the amounts raised, but it must be said that the
 accounts of some of the years given are not quite complete;
 and again that we hear nothing of any wine duty till the
 year 1322: our accounts, however, include the anticipations of
 duty exacted as forced loans in some years. The reader will
 notice the extraordinary fluctuations in the returns, varying,
 even with the full duties, from £11,783 to £24,285 for the
 year. For the years when the New Customs were sus-
 pended the totals are much the same as under the early
 years of Edward I, or £10,000-£12,000 a year. But at
 the last under him we had as much as £28,462² in one year,
 while £24,285 is the *maximum* of his son's reign.

For the six years for which full returns of the revenue Hereditary
Crown
revenues.
 are forthcoming the average yield of the Customs comes
 to £14,000 in round numbers; we found that the Parliamen-
 tary grants averaged over £30,000 a year; putting these
 two together, namely £44,000, and deducting that from the
 average revenue of £86,000, we get the balance of £42,000
 as representing the yield of the hereditary, non-Parliamen-
 tary revenues of the Crown, including loans and sundries.

Edward as a young man had certainly been extravagant. King's
expendi-
ture.
 £28,000 of debt incurred by him as Prince of Wales was
 paid off early in the reign, with £118,000 left owing by his
 father.³ But, according to the accounts that have come
 down to us, he did not as King keep an extravagant house-
 hold, the domestic expenditure averaging only £10,000 a

¹ See Dawn of Constitution, 485.

² See Id. 534. For further details of the Customs' accounts of the reign see my Article Engl. Hist. Rev. XXVI. 1-97.

³ Archaeol., sup. 248.

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year. Thus for the five months from the 1st February to the 7th July *anno IX* (1316) we have £7,307 spent: for the whole year July 1316 to July 1317 we have £12,392 expended, besides £842 the pay of the King's Foot Guards. For the 11th and 12th years 1317-1318 and 1318-1319 the amounts sink to £10,437 and £8,310 respectively.¹ To the weekly bills, however, should be added the sums paid for clothing and arms stored at the Great Wardrobe. Between April and October 1316 the money paid under this head came to £7,951 *os.* 6½*d.* For later years from £900 to £1,000 a year seems to have sufficed; but even with this addition the expenditure of Edward's household would not approach that of his father, which we found to average £15,000 a year and upwards.²

It is not so clear that the Queen was economical in her habits. A memorandum on a Roll of Accounts of the 10th year³ tells us that on the 1st December 1316 the King at Scroby gave the Queen a charge for 11,000 marks (£7,333 *6s.* 8*d.*) a year for her household expenses and otherwise; and we find £2,526 *6s.* 8*d.* paid on account during the half-year. On the other hand we hear that apart from the Queen the King could live for five weeks on £135 *6s.* 6*d.* or £27 *1s.* 3*d.* a week,⁴ less than the sum allowed to Berkeley for his keep as a prisoner.

Loans.

Edward, however, at times had to borrow considerable sums of money. Thus we have commissions to Antonio Pessagno of Genoa to raise £20,000 for the King's use at one time; and again at another time to raise 20,000 marks for him in Gascony.⁵ So again we heard of the 169,000 gold florins advanced by Clement V on a mortgage of Gascony. As the gold florin of the time contained about the same weight of gold as our half-sovereign, in mere bullion, apart from all question of purchasing power, the

¹ L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Wardrobe and Household, No. 2.

² Dawn, 540.

³ The Roll is catalogued as a Pell Issue Roll, but wrongly. It is a miscellaneous account.

⁴ 4 May-29 June *anno VIII* (1315); Exchequer Q. R., Wardrobe and Household; Bundle No. 18.

⁵ Archaeol., sup.

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loan would be equal to £56,333 6s. 8d. of our money. But on the whole the borrowings were on a much smaller scale than during the previous reign, and the sums borrowed appear for the most part to have been duly repaid. In fact the King's extravagance lay not in his personal expenditure—grooms and watermen could be entertained at moderate expense—but in reckless alienation of Crown property, as already mentioned. Still Edward did leave debts to a not inconsiderable extent. His son, however, was too busy accumulating liabilities on his own account to trouble himself with his father's owings.¹

The Universities continued to flourish, the expansion always taking the form of the indigenous collegiate system. The Universities. At Oxford two fresh Halls were founded, in addition to the three existing foundations, Merton Hall, Balliol Hall, and University Hall. Exeter College, originally Stapledon Hall, dates from April 1314, by the grant of the unfortunate Bishop Stapledon of Exeter, with an endowment for twelve scholars, derived, however, not from private funds, but from tithes, Church property. Originally settled in tenements in St. Peter's-in-the-East, the Hall in October 1315 was transferred to the site of the present Exeter College. Oriel College dates from 1324, when Edward licensed his almoner Adam of Brome to found 'a House of Scholars of St. Mary at Oxford.' Under this permission Adam established a Hall on the South side of the High Street. Shortly afterwards for the sake of obtaining Royal protection, he surrendered his foundation to the King, who issued a foundation Charter and code of Statutes, all dated 26 January 1326, with himself as Head under the title of *Praepositus* or Provost. In December 1327 the scholars of St. Mary Hall received from Edward III the grant of the reversion of a house called "*Le Oriole*", on the site from which Oriel College takes its name.² St. Mary Hall, originally the parsonage of the rectors of St. Mary's Church, was also given by Edward to Oriel College, and was established by them as a separate Hall

¹ See a letter of Archbishop Islip remonstrating with Edward III on this very point; Bp. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 394 note.

² Cal. Pat. Roll 1 Edw. III, 195.

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1307-1327 for students. The office of Principal was long held by Fellows of Oriel. Recently it has been reunited to Oriel by Statute.¹

In 1325 we have a grant of a farthing on the £1 on Spirituals within the Diocese of Lincoln, made apparently by Bishop Burghersh, for the support of Masters 'reading' (i.e. lecturing) in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldaic (i.e. Syriac) at Oxford.²

At Cambridge we have the foundation of Michaelhouse, the germ of the future Trinity College, the next oldest establishment after Peterhouse. In 1324 Hervey of Staunton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, obtained leave from Edward to found at Cambridge 'the College of the scholars of St. Michael'. The statutes, which are extant, were probably the work of John Hotham, Bishop of Ely.³ It should not be forgotten that at this period the greatest lights of the intellectual world emanated from Oxford, and notably from among the ranks of the Oxford Franciscans. John Duns Scotus, otherwise John of Dunse the Scot, the Sable Doctor, an Oxford Franciscan, the Apostle of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, passed away *circa* 1308. His pupil and brother-friar, William of Ockham, *Doctor Invincibilis*, the head of the Nominalists, went to Paris *circa* 1312 to carry on abroad his course of study and teaching, an epoch in the history of logical philosophy. As a minor Oxford light we have Richard Aungerville of Bury, tutor to Edward III, an early Humanist, enthusiastic in the cause of letters, though not himself a very learned man. He lived to become Bishop of Durham, the author of *Philobiblon*, and a friend and correspondent of Petrarch.⁴

Architec-
ture.

In ecclesiastical architecture the rich Decorated style still held the field, though symptoms of the advent of the tamer Perpendicular style begin to appear. The nave of Exeter Cathedral preserves the memory of the unfortunate Bishop Stapledon. At Wells the central tower (verging on

¹ H. Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, 137-145.

² Westminster MS. cited *Athenaeum*, 6 February 1904.

³ Bass Mullinger, *Hist. Cambridge*, 234.

⁴ Bass Mullinger, *sup.* Richard, however, writing to the Pope could address him as 'Sauncte Pater'.

the Perpendicular) and the beautiful choir and Lady Chapel, are the work of Bishop Drovensford (1309-1329). At Bristol the choir and choir-aisles are ascribed to Abbot Knowle (1306-1332). At York the grand new nave (1291-1345) must have been in progress in our period, as Archbishop Melton contributed to it. The date of the exquisite Chapter House, the most beautiful of English Chapter Houses, by the style of the architecture pure Decorated, should lie between the reigns of the First and the Second Edward. At Norwich the charming Beauchamp Chapel by its style should likewise belong to the same period. At Ely we have more exact dates. The rich octagon, built to replace the central tower that had fallen, was begun by Bishop Hotham in 1322; the lantern above it was also his work (begun 1328); while the Western portion of St. Hugh's choir, which had been destroyed by the fall of the tower, was rebuilt largely with money left by Hotham. But of course the two latter works belong to the next reign.¹

Lastly, at Chichester the detached bell-tower or campanile was the work of Bishop John Langton (1305-1337); the central tower below the spire belonging also to the first half of the century.

By Isabelle of France (she died 23 August 1358 at Hertford Castle) Edward had

- I. EDWARD III, b. 13 November 1312² (d. 21 June 1377). The King's issue.
- II. John of Eltham, b. 15 August 1316,³ Earl of Cornwall 1328 (d. October 1336).
- III. Eleanor of Woodstock, b. Sunday, 16 July 1318;⁴ married in May 1332 to Reginald II, Count of Guelders; d. 1355 without surviving issue.⁵
- IV. Jeanne, Johane, or Joan of the Tower, "Joan Makepeace," b. 5 July 1321;⁶ married, 17 July 1328, to David afterwards King of Scots; d. 7 September, 1362 *s.p.*⁷

¹ See also R. J. King's Handbook to the Cathedrals of England.

² Foed. II. 187.

³ Trokelowe, 95; Trevet, Cont. 17.

⁴ Ann. Paul. 283. He gives the princess the name of Ysabella. Trokelowe and the Continuator of Trevet give the 18th June as the day of Eleanor's birth.

⁵ Green, Princesses, III. 78-81, 95.

⁶ Ann. Paul. 291.

⁷ Green, sup., 105, 159.

TABLE A

CUSTOMS, EDWARD II

From L. T. R. Enrolled Customs' Accounts Nos. 1 and 2.

		<i>Rates of Duty.</i>	
<i>Antiqua or Magna Custuma</i> (from natives and foreigners).			<i>s. d.</i>
Sack of Wool and 300 Woolfells	.	.	6 8
Last of Leather	.	.	13 4
<i>Nova or Parva Custuma</i> (from foreigners).			
Sack of wool and 300 Woolfells	.	.	3 4
(in addition to old duty)			
Last of Leather	.	.	6 8
(in addition to old duty)			
Scarlet cloth full grain, the piece (<i>pannus</i>)	.	.	2 0
Cloth half grain, the piece	.	.	1 6
Cloth not in grain, the piece	.	.	1 0
Wax, the quintal	.	.	2 0
Wine, the tun	.	.	2 0
All other articles, cattle, horses, grain, groceries, &c., 3d. on the £1 value.			

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Totals.</i>		<i>Years.</i>	<i>Totals.</i>	
	£	<i>s. d.</i>		£	<i>s. d.</i>
1	14,434	5 3	11	9,172	14 5
2	19,172	3 2	12	19,939	4 0
3	14,062	3 11	13	10,620	9 3
4	16,240	7 3	14	10,313	19 3
5	13,094	4 11*	15	6,324	8 11
6	12,218	16 6	16	24,285	3 11†
7	10,724	16 9	17	11,985	3 4
8	10,780	8 7	18	11,783	19 8
9	7,102	6 4	19	8,741	9 3
10	9,331	8 10			

* Nova Custuma suspended by Order of Parliament, 6th October 1311.

† Nova Custuma again levied. London Accounts swelled by £555 17s. od. from Wine Duties, not found before—also by forced Loan of £4,763 6s. 11d.

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EDWARD III "OF WINDSOR"

Born 13th November 1312; began to reign 25th January 1327;¹
d. 21st June 1377.

CHAPTER XI

A. D. 1327-1328

Domestic affairs.—Accession.—Coronation.—Parliament.—Treaty with France.
—War with Scotland.—Parliament.—Money Grants.—Peace with Scotland.—
Parliament.—Treaty ratified.—Marriage of the King.

On the 20th January (1327) the unfortunate Edward II, a prisoner at Kenilworth, had been forced to give a reluctant abdication in favour of his son. On the 24th of the month the peace of the new King was proclaimed, but his reign somehow was not held to have begun till the morrow. On the 26th again a new Seal was produced, and placed in the trusty hands of John of Hotham, Bishop of Ely.² John had already held the offices both of Treasurer and Chancellor, and had also been employed on important diplomatic missions abroad. Throughout his career he had managed to be faithful to the late King without incurring the hostility of the Opposition. On the other hand, the indispensable Adam of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, a man with a very different record, was appointed to the Treasury.³

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Sunday 1st February was the day chosen for the corona-
Corona-
tion.

¹ Enrolled Customs Account, *passim*. So when Edward assumed the style of King of France in 1340 the change was made on the 25th January. See below.

² See Foss, Judges, III. 444.

³ Foed. II. 683, 684. On the 24th March, however, Orleton was accredited on an embassy to Avignon; and on the 28th Bishop Burghersh of Lincoln succeeded him at the Treasury; Pell Issue Roll in die; Foed. 698.

tion. As an indispensable preliminary the boy-monarch had to be dubbed knight. The honour was conferred by the sword of his cousin Henry of Lancaster, surnamed 'Wryneck',¹ Earl of Lancaster and Leicester. The like distinction was then imparted by John of Hainault to a batch of young magnates headed by John of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, son of Humphrey VII killed at Boroughbridge, and the three sons of Roger Mortimer.² These youths, with other hostages, had been released from custody in the Tower through the instrumentality of the London mob on the 15th October.³ The coronation rites of course took place in Westminster Abbey, and the hallowing unction, equally of course, was imposed by the hands of the renegade Archbishop Walter Reynolds. William Ayreminne of Norwich and Haymo Heath of Rochester chaunted the Litany.⁴ The coronation oath followed the formula introduced in the late reign, the King swearing to maintain 'the laws and righteous customs which the community⁵ (*communauté*) of the realm should choose', in addition to the primary obligations of the original oath. A formal record was attested by the Bishops of Ely and Hereford, by John Stratford of Winchester, John Langton of Chichester, Thomas Cobham of Worcester, Louis of Beaumont of Durham, Henry Burghersh of Lincoln, John Eggescliffe of Llandaff and William Ayreminne of Norwich. The memorandum is also subscribed by the King's uncles Thomas of Brotherton Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund of Woodstock Earl of Kent; by John of Warenne II Earl of Surrey,

¹ "Au tort col," J. Le Bel, I. 16.

² So Doyle and Complete Peerage. Bridlington, 95, however, has it that the King himself was knighted by John.

³ Murimuth, 53; Chron. Lond. 57; Walsingham, I. 188; Barnes, Edward III, p. 4.

⁴ So Dene, Angl. Sacr. I. 360. Rochester's name, however, does not appear among the list of those present given in Foedera; nor do we find the names of the sturdy prelates who had ventured to protest against the deposition of the late King, namely William Melton of York, Stephen Segrave of London, and John Ross of Carlisle.

⁵ This seems the proper rendering, the original clearly comprising the three estates. See Foed. II. 684; Lanercost, 258.

John of Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, Roger Mortimer, and Henry of Beaumont.¹ Baldwin of Fryville, presumably, appeared as King's champion, his mother's right to the office, by virtue of the possession of Tamworth Castle, having been recognized in 1325.²

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The
champion.

The morrow of the coronation, being Candlemas or the Feast of the Purification, was kept as a holiday; on the 3rd February Parliament resumed its sittings, no fresh writs being issued. We have seen that the revolution was the work of a coalition between the offended Queen, Mortimer as representing the Confederates of 1321, and the Lancastrians; a final impulse being given to the hesitation of Parliament by the intervention of the London mob, worked up to the requisite pitch of excitement by the oratory of Stratford, Orleton, and Reynolds. The claims of all these parties would have to be recognized. The first measure was to appoint a standing Council of Regency to advise the King. Four prelates, four earls, and six barons were named; of these it was agreed that a bishop, an earl, and two barons should be in constant attendance upon the sovereign.³ The Presidency was given to Lancaster, supported by the three Earls of royal blood, namely Norfolk, Kent and Surrey. The prelates were the two Archbishops, the faithless Reynolds and the faithful Melton, with, of course, the two 'indispensables', Orleton and Stratford. Of the barons the names of only four have been handed down; three of them Wake, Percy, de Ros, were clearly Lancastrians; while Oliver Ingham, the fourth, was an ally of Mortimer, and at the time Seneschal of Gascony.⁴ Roger himself did not think it necessary to invite criticism by figuring on the Council; his name is most emphatically conspicuous by its absence. Concurrently with the appointment of the Council appeared a string of petitions for the reversal of the proceedings against Earl Thomas

Parliament.

Regency
Council.

Party
Measures.

¹ Foed. sup.

² Calendar Close Roll 1 Edw. III, and above, p. 11.

³ Rot. Parl. II. 52; Knighton, c. 2556.

⁴ See Leland, Coll. II. 476; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 387; and for Ingham Cal. Pat. Roll 1 Edw. III, p. 6.

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and all those 'of his quarrel'. All were reinstated in their possessions, and, apparently, with all the benefits of 'mesne profits' and 'waste'.¹ Not content with these concessions 'the good Commons' (*la bone gent de la commune*) prayed for a confirmation of all decrees against the Despensers, and for the canonisation of Earl Thomas, grotesquely coupled with Archbishop Winchelsey.²

Grievances.

But there were other matters on which the 'good Commons' could address the King and Council in a sterner and more practical spirit. There were points, they said, in the Great Charters that needed clearing up, and that without delay. The rights of the Church had been invaded; the Forest Charter had been left a dead letter; the perambulations, 'so dearly bought', had never been honestly carried out; the revenues of vacant sees were still impounded; clergy were appointed to benefices on condition of sharing emoluments with the King.³ They further complained of men being 'distrained' for military service beyond the requirements of their tenures; of men being required to provide themselves with weapons beyond the demands of the Statute of Winchester; of men compelled to serve outside their counties at their own expense; of attempts by the King's Justices to overrule and surcharge the equitable assessments of Fifteenths and other subsidies made by the commissioners appointed to levy the taxes. Coming down to detail, they brought to light endless cases of trickery and chicanery committed by sheriffs, stewards of manors, and others in connexion with the administration of justice. Of wider scope were the demands that lands held in chief alienated without licence should not be subjected to forfeiture, but be redeemable by fines; that widows of men forfeited for felony should not lose their dower. In a less praiseworthy spirit they demanded the

¹ Rot. Parl. II. 3-7; Foed. II. 689-692, 704. Even Lady Badlesmere, badly as she had behaved to the Queen, was reinstated.

² Rot. Parl. 7. For the application to the Pope see Foed. 695, 696.

³ John of Eggescliff, appointed Bishop of Llandaff in 1323, had to pay Edward II 1,000 marks to be admitted to his temporalities; Cal. Pat. Roll 2 Edw. III, 265.

enforcement of the law requiring merchant-strangers to dispose of their goods within forty days of their landing, a relaxation of the rule having been sanctioned by the prelates and barons. Finally they demanded the rigid exclusion from the country of all 'Provisors', i.e. persons introducing Papal Bulls of Provision.¹

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On most points satisfactory answers were given. Both Charters were fully confirmed, and the perambulations promised afresh.² The petition with regard to vacant Sees was evaded, the King only undertaking to abstain from laying hands on the goods of living prelates (s. 5). With regard to military service, he claimed to retain the right of sending men to serve outside their counties in case of foreign invasion (s. 9). The dower of felons' widows was refused, as contrary to law (s. 13). With respect to Provisors the matter was suspended till the King should come of age (s. 26). Probably it was thought inexpedient to involve the new reign in a struggle with the Papacy. The concessions involving permanent law were embodied in a statute, regulations of a temporary character would be enrolled in Chancery.³ "The Act is on the whole creditable both to the Parliament and to the government;"⁴ but no subsidy was asked for or offered.

According to the chroniclers the Queen received a settlement that hardly left the King one-third of his revenue.⁵ Certain it is, however, that she, or the Bardi on her account, now received sums amounting to £22,360 for debts incurred by her abroad and at home. Much of this money would go to John of Hainault and his men; but the exceptional character of his services was thought to justify a further grant, namely that of an 'assignment' on the wool duties of the Port of London for a life-pension of 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.) a year.⁶

¹ Rot. Parlt. II. 7-10.

² Windsor Forest for one was actually perambulated; Manwood, Forest Laws, 135.

³ Rot. Parlt. II. 11, 12; Statutes, I. 251-255. The session lasted to the 6th March; Parly. Writs.

⁴ Bp. Stubbs, II. 388.

⁵ So Murimuth, 52; Baker, 28.

⁶ Foed. II. 686, 691; February 7-19.

CHAP. XI

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City
charters.Political
situation.Foreign
affairs.

France.

Of the co-partners in the revolution the Londoners still remained to be rewarded for their assistance. On the 9th March Andrew Horn, the well-known City Chamberlain, read out and expounded a fresh series of Royal Charters, conferring the largest possible measure of civic franchise.¹

In spite of the seeming good understanding between King and Parliament, the look-out for Mortimer and Isabelle was far from hopeful; dangers surrounded them on every side. The dethroned King was alive, and might at any moment break his bonds. The treaty of 1323 with the Scots had involved no recognition of the independence of Scotland. It was doubtful if English opinion could be brought as yet to abandon the cherished dream of conquest. Yet without that concession it was certain that the Scots would never keep quiet. Across the Channel matters were in a still worse plight. Guienne and Gascony had been overrun by the French in 1324, under circumstances already detailed; and the late King had been forced to recognize the state of affairs there, subject to an adjudication in the French courts as to the validity of the French territorial claims (21 May 1325). Both these matters received prompt attention. On the 15th February, Parliament being still sitting, strict observance of the truce with 'Robert Bruce and his adherents' was proclaimed;² while on the 22nd of the month Bishops Stratford and Ayreminne and the Earl of Richmond were sent back to Paris as plenipotentiaries, to arrange for the execution of the treaty originally negotiated by them, with powers to settle everything.³ Mortimer was not in a position to make difficulties, and so Charles proved pretty peremptory in his terms. He insisted on retaining the Agenais and Bazadais,⁴ apparently without any legal investigation; but he was prepared to agree to a mutual restitution on either side of all 'conquests' made since the treaty of May 1325, in consideration of a war-

¹ Ann. Paul. 325-332; Chron. Lond. 59.

² Foed. 689. The truce was formally ratified by Edward, 6 March; 696.

³ Id. 693, 694.

⁴ Martin, V. 10. See Lavissee, III. ii. 301; Tout, 324.

indemnity of 50,000 marks sterling. The English were also required to banish Oliver Ingham the Seneschal of Gascony, the Seneschal of the Landes, and some other Gascon lords who had fallen under Charles's ban. On these terms a treaty was signed in Paris on the 31st March.¹

In their dealings with Bruce the Government were even less successful, perhaps because they were less complying. In fact the confirmation of the truce was a mere challenge, being addressed to 'Robert Bruce and his adherents'. Bruce may have received from Isabelle the fugitive assurances that Isabelle the Regent was unable to redeem,² at any rate the situation in England proved too tempting for Scottish virtue. On the very night of the coronation an attempt had been made on Norham Castle.³ On the 5th April Edward informs the military tenants that Bruce, after having agreed to a friendly meeting, to arrange for a final peace, had ordered all the forces of Scotland to attend the conference; the King therefore requests a corresponding muster of his lieges for the 19th May at Newcastle.⁴ Continued efforts for a friendly meeting testify to the reality of the English desire for peace; but the Scots were bent on war, and so Edward was obliged to call on the boroughs to provide him with contingents of men, the numbers being left to their discretion, to serve in his pay.⁵ A less judicious step was an invitation to John of Hainault to return with a fresh body of auxiliaries. The liberal scale of 'wages' offered made the service only too popular, and more men came forward than John cared to keep. But already on one occasion English pride had revolted at the suggestion that in dealing with the Scots they might be the better for a little foreign help; and so again now the allies proved a mere hindrance and source of trouble. On the 29th May the Hainaulters joined the Royal headquarters at York, 500 strong, splendid troops, but for the purposes of Border warfare totally useless. Among them came Jehan Le Bel,

The Scots.

War.

¹ Foed. II. 700; ratified by Edward at Peterborough 11 April; Id. 703.

² So Knighton, c. 2551.

³ Lanercost, 258.

⁴ Foed. II. 702.

⁵ Id. 704, 705; Rot. Scot. I. 206, &c.; Chron. Lond. 60.

the historian, to whose graphic pen we owe details of the campaign.¹

Foreign
allies.

On Trinity Sunday (7 June) Edward gave a grand entertainment in honour of the strangers at the Friars Minors, where he was lodged. Six hundred knights sat down at table with the King, while sixty ladies dined with the Queen in her bedchamber.² The mirth of the evening was rudely interrupted by a furious turmoil in the streets; a dicer's quarrel had provoked a brawl between the foreigners' servants and some of the English archers. The Hainault knights hastening out to protect their men found the streets swept with flights of arrows from English bows. With difficulty some hundred of them got together in full armour in a backyard, then sallying out they cleared the main street (*la grande Rue*). It was said that in the morning three hundred and sixteen bodies were picked up. The consequence was that during the rest of their stay the foreigners lived in fear for their lives, keeping constant watch against attempts at retaliation by their allies.³

The
campaign.

With picturesque incidents, the campaign proved a miserable failure. In the course of June the Scots were to the fore with a preliminary inroad. Edward called for further levies, and sent the Northern lords under Lancaster and Kent on to Newcastle. On the 26th June the Earl of Kent reported that the enemy was at Appleby. But they never ventured within striking distance, and the English were content to remain on the defensive.⁴ About the 10th July the King moved from York, and three days later reached Northallerton. There he gave orders for opposing a fresh muster of the Scots, reported as appointed to be held at Carlisle about that very time. On the 15th July he signs at Durham.⁵ The Earl Marshal (Norfolk), in charge

¹ Le Bel, I. 33-35.

² "Au dortoir."

³ See Le Bel, I. 40-43; the extract from the Wardrobe Accounts given in *Eulogium Historiarum*, III. xvii; and Murimuth, 53, &c. On the 14th June an inquiry was directed as to disturbances between the Hainaulters and men from Lincoln and Northants; *Foed.* II. 707.

⁴ *Foed.* 708; *Scalacr.* 153; and *Lanercost*, Appendix, 159.

⁵ *Foed.* 709, 710.

of the Intelligence department, was there already, but could give no word of the whereabouts of the Scots. The army was not long kept waiting. Within three days or so columns of smoke from blazing homesteads indicated the whereabouts of the enemy. Their numbers were considerable, but they were led by the veteran raiders Thomas Randolph Earl of Moray, and James Douglas, assisted by Donald Earl of Mar. Bruce, being afflicted with leprosy, had staid at home. Earl Donald, son of Gratney who died in 1305, had been brought up at the English court, was devoted to Edward II, and had joined the Scots in the hope of creating a diversion in his favour.¹ The English were at once called to arms, and marched out in three battalions of foot-soldiers, with cavalry on either flank of each, ready for immediate action (18 July). The Scots had evidently got to the rear of the English position, as we find the King signing at Tudhoe, four miles to the South of Durham, on the 20th July.² Another day's march brought his men, hot and tired, to Stanhope on the Upper Wear.³ The futility of endeavouring to overtake the enemy by a stern chase having become apparent, a council of war was held, and a forced march to the Upper Tyne resolved upon, in the hope of intercepting the Scottish retreat. For provisions each man was told to take a loaf of bread with him, as the enemy would certainly be brought to action on the morrow. At midnight the force was mustered; and, after a desperate scrambling day, over Wolsingham Common, and down Allerdale, through woods and quaking bogs, reached Heydon Bridge on the South Tyne.⁴ A night of discomfort, without fire or lights, was followed by days of continuous rain, destructive to arms, and accoutrements, and horses' backs.⁵ Twenty-four hours elapsed before scanty supplies, offered at famine rates, came from

¹ Le Bel, I. 46; Lanercost, 259; Bridlington, 96; Scalacr. 154.

² Cal. Pat. Roll.

³ Le Bel, 49, 50; Lanercost.

⁴ Le Bel, 49-53; Scalacr. 154; Lanercost, 259; Rot. Scot. I. 219. Edward signs at Haydonbridge on the 22nd July, and so on to the 26th of the month.

⁵ "Nos chevaux étaient tous blesiez sur le dos."

Newcastle. Edward in despair offered land to the value of £100, and the honour of Knighthood to any man who would bring him within sight of the Scots. After four days' scouting, the army in the meantime having moved to Blanchland on the Derwent, nine miles south-east of Hexham, one Thomas of Rokeby came forward to claim the reward. He had just escaped from the hands of the Scots, leaving them at Stanhope, not eight miles from the English situation.¹ There, sure enough, they were found safely posted on a hill on the other, i.e. the South side² of the river Wear. The English drew out their forces on foot, on their own side of the river. The Scots, keeping on the defensive, declined to cross the water to engage them; the English, "longing to be at them", did not feel equal to making the advance, so there they all remained.³ For three days the two armies confronted each other, the Scots keeping the English in a constant state of alarm at nights by blowing of horns and shouting. On the fourth morning they had vanished. It turned out, however, that they had merely removed a distance of two miles⁴ up the river, to a more convenient camping ground within a wood. The English executed a corresponding movement, again taking up their position on a height confronting the Scots, across the river. That same night Douglas beat up the English quarters with a bold attempt to carry off the boy-King from the midst of his men. Crossing the Wear at a safe distance, with two hundred mounted men-at-arms, he crept up to the English camp, and fell upon it shouting "Douglas! Douglas! You are all dead men!" Thus spurring and hacking, and shouting "Douglas! Douglas!" he fought his way to the King's tent, and cut the ropes. The devotion of a chaplain saved Edward's life at the cost of his own.

A bold
stroke.

¹ Le Bel, I. 54-61; Foed. II. 717; Scalacr.

² Barbour places the Scots on the "north half" of the Wear, but with the English advancing from Blanchland on the North, the Scots must have posted themselves on the South side of the river. They had to make a circuit to get away at the last.

³ 31 July, Le Bel, 64. Edward signs at Stanhope 1 August.

⁴ "A deux petites lyeues"; "twa mile"; Barbour, 455.

Balked of their prey the Scots beat a hasty retreat and escaped.¹

For yet another three days the hosts faced each other across the river, operations being limited to independent skirmishing, as each man thought fit, in true Homeric style. "*Escarmouchait qui escarmoucher vouloit.*" On the fourth day the Scots had again disappeared, having executed during the night a circuitous march² round the English position. Explorers found nothing on the abandoned camping ground but carcasses of slaughtered cattle, camp cauldrons of raw hide, worn out brogues of the same material, and five poor prisoners bound naked to trees. Once more Edward's advisers decided that pursuit would be useless. With tears of bitter mortification the young King turned homewards.³ On the 9th August he signs again at Durham, and the twenty-two days' campaign was brought to an end.⁴ Meanwhile young Archibald Douglas with the Scottish foragers had overrun most of the diocese of Durham, and cut up a local force met at Darlington.⁵

End of
campaign.

Le Bel was much impressed with what he saw and heard of the hardihood, the daring, and we might add the general savagery of the Scots. They could march twenty and thirty miles at a stretch, by day or by night; the knights and esquires riding good useful chargers, lesser men mounted on little ponies, while troops of attendant "gillies" ran after them on foot.⁶ No transport train clogged their movements; the only commissariat arrangement was that each man carried a wallet of meal on his back, and a broad flat stone under his saddle-flap, on which he baked his cake. Otherwise they lived on the country, mainly on

¹ Le Bel, I. 65-67; Scalacr. 155; Lanercost, 260; Barbour, 455-460; Heming. Cont. II. 298.

² "Per nocturnos circuitus," Fordun, 352; "Circueundo," Lanercost.

³ "Le roy, un innocent, plora des oils," Scalacr.; "Rex doluit ut fleret," Lanercost.

⁴ Le Bel, 67-71; Lanercost, sup. ⁵ Lanercost, sup.; Scalacr. 154, 155.

⁶ In the eighteenth century gentlemen privates in the Highland Companies (Black Watch) had a gillie to carry their firelock and knapsack on the march; Milty. Hist. Perthshire, I. 55. Above, p. 133, we saw that each Scottish trooper had two horses.

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meat, with plain water for their sole drink.¹ On the other hand we might add that the writer was struck with the abundance and cheapness of provisions in the York market, even with the influx of mouths brought by the army.

Firearms.

From the Scottish rhymers we learn that during this foray his countrymen first saw firearms, or as he calls them 'crakis of war',² brought into use, and that much were the Scots astonished at the marvellous novelty. The question might be raised whether the pieces in question were of native make, or had been introduced by the Hainaulters; but anyhow the use of gunpowder in the English army must certainly be carried back to the year 1327.

From Durham the Court moved to York. On the 20th August the Hainaulters were dismissed. Their leader had been promised £14,000 of which £7,000 had already been paid on account. £4,000 extra were now paid for loss of horses and the like; the balance of £7,000 stood over for nine months but was then fully and honestly paid up.³

Parliament.

For the expenses of the war the Government turned to the nation. A Parliament had been summoned to meet at Lincoln, and sat there from the 15th to the 23rd September. The counties and boroughs granted a Twentieth.⁴ The clergy again declined to vote money except in Convocation. The Northern Province accordingly was called to York for the 12th October and voted a Tenth;⁵ Canterbury made a like grant at Leicester 'at the request of the Earl of Leicester'.⁶

During the sitting of the Lincoln Parliament the unfortunate ex-King met his horrible end. No notice was taken of the event. A matter that could not be ignored was the continuance of active hostilities by the Scots. The untiring

¹ Le Bel, I. 47.² Barbour, 452.³ June 1328, Foed. II. 708, 713, 745; Le Bel. The money was transmitted, perhaps advanced, by the Bardi; Cal. Pat. Roll, 164.⁴ Foed. 712; Rot. Parl. II. 425; Lords' Report on Dignity of a Peer, I. 492. A scutage also was levied; 3rd Deputy-Keeper's Report, Appendix II. 143.⁵ Northern Registers, 344, 349.⁶ Wilkins, Conc. II. 538; Knighton, c. 2552.

Bruce dragged himself from his bed of sickness for a last campaign. Norham was again besieged, Alnwick assaulted, Coquetdale wasted, and Northumberland more or less overrun, till, once more, the unhappy Marchers were forced to buy a private truce.¹ Mortimer and Isabelle, perhaps not realizing the danger of making themselves responsible for an unpopular treaty, came to the conclusion that peace was a necessity—as in truth it was—and made up their minds to pay the price. On the 9th October negotiations were opened on the basis of the abandonment of the English claims; in the course of the next two months the terms were settled in outline; a truce was signed and a Parliament summoned to sanction the treaty.²

Concurrently with these negotiations preparations were being hastened for the King's marriage. On the 15th of August Edward had written to press the Pope for the necessary dispensation, the bride being related to him in the third degree.³ On the 30th August the dispensation was sealed at Avignon. In October the Count of Holland was invited to England, and Roger Northburgh, Bishop of Coventry, commissioned to pledge the King's troth. In December Philippa came to London, under the escort of the Bishops and her uncle John;⁴ after a brief festive stay in the metropolis the girl bride was taken on to York, and there married in St. Peter's Minster, on Sunday 24th January 1328.⁵ The ceremony, doubtless, was held at York for the convenience of William Melton the Archbishop, by whom the marriage knot was tied. Canterbury was vacant, Reynolds having passed away at Mortlake "conscience-smitten and despised" on the 16th November.⁶

¹ Barbour, 466; Fordun, 352; Lanercost, and Scalacr., sup.

² Foed. II. 723-725; Rot. Scot. I. 223, &c.

³ Jeanne of Valois, the mother of Philippa, was daughter of Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, the father of Queen Isabelle; Edward III and Philippa were therefore second cousins. See Buchon's note to Froissart, I. i, ch. 46, and the pedigree in Longman's Edward III, I. 21.

⁴ Foed. 714, 718, 724; Le Bel, I. 76; Chron. Lond. 61; Ann. Paul. 339.

⁵ Bridlington, 99; Lanercost, 261; Walsing. I. 192. The bride only reached York on the 23rd January. Issue Rolls, Devon, 140, q. v. for the journey.

⁶ Reg. Sacrum; Hook.

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Melton would not be at liberty to carry his cross in the Southern Province; without it he would not come to London, and so as a compromise the Court had to be taken to York in mid-winter.

One young countryman remained with Philippa to wait upon her and carve at table, Watelet de Mauny,¹ destined to live in English history as Sir Walter Manny.

The Parliament that had been summoned to consider the propriety of making peace with Scotland met at York on the 7th February 1328. One hundred Scottish knights had been invited to be present.² On the 15th February the Scottish envoys sent home for final instructions. On the 1st March the King of England was made to proclaim his recognition of 'our dear friend and ally Robert by the grace of God King of the Scots'. The proclamation stated that the recognition was granted 'by the assent and consent of the prelates, earls, barons and commonalty in Parliament', and in order to put an end to the countless woes brought upon both nations by the attempts of former Kings of England to establish rights of overlordship over Scotland. The old frontier line as established in the reign of Alexander III would be restored, and all obligations or treaties involving any subjection on the part of Scotland were cancelled at one stroke.³

Peace with
Scotland.

Thus it will be seen that Isabelle and Mortimer did the thing handsomely, disclaiming not only the novel pretensions advanced by Edward I, but also dropping old questions dating from the times of Eadward the Elder, Eadgar and Cnut.

Other instruments of the same date renounced all interest in suits pending in the Roman courts against the King of Scots; and appointed envoys to treat for a marriage between David of Scotland, Bruce's son, and "Johane" or Joan, the sister of the English King.⁴ The formal treaty of peace was sealed by King Robert at Edinburgh on the

¹ Le Bel, 77.

² Foed. II. 725, 728. The session lasted till the 5th March; Stubbs.

³ Foed. 730; Lanercost, 262.

⁴ Foed., sup.

17th March. To obtain the fullest sanction for a step involving so marked a change of national policy, Isabelle and Mortimer, before affixing the young King's seal, took the precaution of laying the actual treaty before yet another Parliament, summoned to Northampton for the purpose; ¹ sufficient sanction apparently having been obtained, the treaty was ratified by Edward at Northampton on the 4th May. The compact is one of full offensive and defensive alliance as against all parties except France. Robert undertakes to support the English government in Ireland; they undertake to support him in Man, 'and the other Isles of Scotland'. Bruce agrees to pay 30,000 marks (£20,000) by three yearly instalments; the English undertake to restore all writings, obligations, instruments and muniments touching the subjection of the people or land of Scotland.² This clause was held to include all trophies carried away by Edward I. But the pledge was not to be fulfilled. The Abbot of Westminster was induced to surrender the Black Rood of Scotland, but declined to part with the Stone of Scone,³ while the Ragman's Roll, and the records of the proceedings in the Great Cause likewise, have remained in London to the present day. It would also seem that the negotiations included an agreement for the reinstatement, on the one hand, of Englishmen to lands formerly held in Scotland, and on the other hand, of Scotsmen to lands formerly held in England,⁴ a great future source of trouble.

By the day named in the treaty (15 July) Queen Isabelle appeared at Berwick with her daughter, aged seven years; four and a half months earlier the bridegroom had completed his fourth year.⁵ On Sunday 17 July⁶ the baby pair were formally betrothed. Neither King was present; Robert was too ill, Edward too much opposed to the treaties

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Another
Parlia-
ment.Treaty of
Northamp-
ton.

¹ The Parliament sat 24 April-14 May and passed an Act abolishing all the staples, proclaiming unrestricted trade, and providing for the 'aulnage', i.e. the standard admeasurement of cloth and Norfolk worsteds, the latter already an industry of some standing; Statutes, I. 257; Rot. Parl. II. 28.

² Foed. II. 734, 740.

³ Lanercost, 261; Baker, 41.

⁴ Scalacr. 156.

⁵ 5 March; Fordun, 350; Hailes.

⁶ Fordun, 353; Lanercost, 261.

signed in his name.¹ Wise and salutary as the pacification was, it is clear that it was most unpopular. The attendance of magnates both at York and Northampton had been meagre;² the chroniclers with one voice condemn the disgraceful peace;³ while the poor little Queen of Scots lived to be stigmatized as "Joan Make-peace".⁴

¹ "Regis nomine sed non ingenio"; Baker, 40; Scalacr. 156.

² See Lingard, III. 47.

³ "Pacem turpem;" Avesbury, 283; Murimuth, 57; Scalacr. 156; Baker, 40. "Pessimo consilio," says the Lanercost writer, who years before described the longings of the Northern folk for peace.

⁴ Barnes, Edward III, 30.

CHAPTER XII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1328-1330

Death of Charles IV of France.—French succession.—Homage by Edward III.—
Opposition to the Government of Isabelle and Mortimer.—Trial and execution
of the Earl of Kent.—Fall of Mortimer.

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The Suc-
cession in
France.

Edward's
preten-
sions.

ON the night of the 31st January 1328 Charles IV of France, 'Le Bel,' passed away, leaving a daughter Marie, aged fourteen, and a widow in the family way. Pending her confinement a Regent had to be appointed. The choice made would virtually determine the succession. It would seem that Isabelle sent agents to attend the Council held in Paris for the appointment of a Regent, claiming the post for her son as heir.¹ Here we have the first suggestion of the pretensions destined shortly to involve France and England in the Hundred Years' War. But the assembled magnates had no hesitation in appointing Philip of Valois, son of the Anglophobe Charles, the brother of Philip the Fair, thus in fact deciding in favour of male succession. But young Edward did not drop his claims all at once. On the 28th March he writes to his officers and friends in Aquitaine, to inform them that he intends to 'recover' his dear mother's 'rights and heritages', meaning apparently the Kingdoms of France and Navarre.² This pretension was utterly untenable. Isabelle could not possibly herself claim the crown; even if the so-called Salique Law should be rejected by the French, there were at the time living daughters of all the three late Kings, Louis Hutin, Philippe le Long, and Charles le Bel, each one of whom would stand between her and the throne. But none of these princesses had a son; the Queen, therefore, could contend that though she herself could not inherit, she could transmit a right to

¹ So Lavissee, France, IV. 3.

² Foed. II. 736, 737.

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her son, and that he could succeed, as the male nearest in degree to the late King.¹ This rule of succession had obtained to some extent in early days ; but it was quite out of date, and might be said to have been disposed of by the discussions in the Great Scottish Cause. Lastly, we must point out that four years later, even this semblance of title was wiped out by the birth of a grandson to Louis Hutin, the future King of Navarre ' Charles le Mauvais '.²

On the 1st April (1328) the widowed Queen of Charles IV gave birth to a daughter, whereupon Philip, without further ado, proclaimed himself King of France. In vain were Orleton, now Bishop of Worcester, and Roger of Northburgh the Bishop of Lichfield instructed to demand the Kingdom of France in Edward's name.³ On Trinity Sunday (29 May) Philip VI was hallowed at Rheims with the greatest possible splendour.⁴ The reign opened with a brilliant success. A tyrannical Count, Louis I, had driven the Flemish cities into rebellion. He appealed to his cousin the King of France. Philip invaded Flanders, and inflicted a terrible defeat on the burghers at Cassel, thus wiping out the stain of the disgrace of Courtrai.⁵

Philip VI
"of Valois".

Edward's pretensions had now to be dropped ;⁶ while he was called upon to render the homage due by him. An informal invitation was entrusted in the first instance to Pierre Roger, afterwards Pope Clement VI, a man who, as Abbot of Fécamp, had relations with England, and had recently done homage to Edward for the English possessions attached to his House.⁷ A fresh summons was sent in the spring of 1329, while a French army was ordered to muster

¹ So Scalacr. 156. See Lavissee, IV. 2, and the pedigree there given. Isabelle would serve as a plank or bridge over which her son would have access to the crown.

² See Pedigree at the end of the chapter. Charles stood to the crown of France in the same relation as Edward III, but by an elder branch.

³ 16 May ; Foed. II. 743. ⁴ D'Achery, Spicilegium, III. 87-89 ; Lavissee.

⁵ 23 August 1328 ; Chron. Flanders ; Buchon, note to Froissart, I. 40 ; Sismondi, France, X. 20-22.

⁶ Scalacr. 156.

⁷ Froissart, I. 42, note Buchon ; De Nangis, Cont. ; Foed. 684 ; Cal. Pat. Roll, 22. Pierre was leaving England on his way home 28 November (1328) ; Id. 338.

at Bergerac in Perigord. With the events of 1325 fresh in memory the English Government could not ignore a second citation. On the 14th April Edward promised early attention to 'his duty'.¹ On the 25th May the King's brother, John of Eltham, was appointed Warden to act in England during his absence; next day Edward sailed from Dover, Burghersh and Orleton going with him. On the 6th June he did homage in the beautiful choir of Amiens cathedral.² The delicate diplomatic act was attended by unusual complications owing to the unrecognized conquests of the French in Guienne. The English tendered a formula by which Edward would render homage for all the lands that he 'claimed' to hold as Duke of Guienne. But Philip told his feudatory that he would receive no homage for any lands in Gascony or the Agenais that he, Philip, held and ought to hold as King Charles had held them. Edward protested that he could renounce no right that he had, or ought to have, in Guienne or its dependencies. The homage therefore was rendered in somewhat indefinite terms. The Viscount of Melun, Chamberlain of France, addressing Edward said 'Sire, you become the man of my lord the King of France for the Duchy of Guienne and its appurtenances that you recognize to hold of him as Duke of Guienne and Peer of France, according to the form of the treaties made between his ancestors, Kings of France, and your ancestors, Kings of England and Dukes of Guienne'. The Duke then by the mouth of the Bishop of Lincoln said "*Voire*" (True), placed his hands between those of his lord, and received the kiss of peace. According to the formula tendered by Burghersh Edward would declare himself Philip's man for all the lands that he 'claimed' to hold as Duke of Guienne.³

The further question whether the homage due was liege homage or not, was reserved for further investigation; ultimately Edward had to admit that it was,⁴ as we shall

¹ "Deveria nostra;" Foed. II. 760.

² Foed. 763, 764.

³ See the record in Foed. 765.

⁴ Foed. 31 March 1331, 813. See also 778, 797.

CHAP. XII see. The homage was accompanied by an agreement for
1329 mutual satisfaction for all damages inflicted on either side during the last five years.¹ On the 11th June the King recrossed the Channel.²

Death of
the Bruce.

While Edward was away in France, Robert "the Brus", King Robert I of Scotland, closed his arduous career. He died at Cardross on the 7th June.³ Aristotle might have pronounced him happy. After three and twenty years of incessant struggle he had attained the end of his ambition; he had vindicated Scotland's right to be considered a nation, and established his own dynasty. With his dying breath he commended to his countrymen the systems of defensive warfare and guerilla tactics illustrated by his own career. For himself, unable to purchase relief from his excommunicate position by a personal pilgrimage to Holy Land,⁴ he directed his heart to be carried for him to Jerusalem, and laid before the Sepulchre of Christ. The Earl of Moray would be required at home to guard the throne of the infant heir, the pious task therefore was committed to the prince of Paladins the Black Douglas.⁵

Young as it was, the government of Isabelle already showed signs of disruption.⁶ Reynolds was dead. Orleton had treated his patrons exactly as Stratford and Ayremynne had treated their patron Edward II. As royal agent at the court of Avignon Adam had advanced himself to the See of Worcester in direct opposition to the nominee of the English crown. After a short angry snarl the Government

¹ Foed. II. 768, 769, 772.

² Foed. 763-765, q.v. for the retinue taken by the King.

³ Fordun, 353.

⁴ For Randolph's mission to Avignon in 1324 offering an expedition to Holy Land in 'return for absolution' see Foed. 541, Hill Burton. The Pope insisted on a prior settlement with England.

⁵ Barbour, 472-475; Le Bel, I. 80; Baker, 41, 42. Douglas allowed himself to be turned from his pilgrimage to Holy Land to join Alphonso XI in a Crusade against the Moors. He received from Edward a safe-conduct to pass through England (1 September 1329; Foed. 778). On the 25th August 1330 he fell in battle outside the walls of Theba, a castle in Andalusia, on the borders of Granada (Fordun, 353; Le Bel, 84; Baker, 41; Mariana, De Rebus Hisp. 744). The Bruce's heart and Douglas's bones were brought home by William Keith; the former to be laid in Melrose Abbey, and the latter in the church at Castle Douglas; Barbour, 482, 483.

⁶ Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 389.

submitted.¹ Isabelle and Mortimer, however, kept everything as much as possible in their own hands.² At the death of Reynolds an attempt was made "to force Burghersh into the Primacy". This was resisted, and the Queen had to content herself with Simon of Mepeham, a Merton man and canon of Chichester. But he "was more of an ecclesiastic than a statesman".³ On the 1st March the Seal was taken from Hotham, a man of independent character, and placed in the hands of Henry of Cliff and William of Herlaston as Keepers, while two months later the trusty Burghersh was appointed Chancellor.⁴ Stratford "the most powerful adviser of the constitutional party" was kept out of office, and Lancaster the President of the Council allowed no intercourse with the King.⁵ Nor did Mortimer strengthen his position by holding a series of Round Tables at Bedford,⁶ an ostentatious proceeding; or by getting himself raised to an earldom in company with two men of Royal connexions, namely, the King's brother John of Eltham, and James Butler, married to a granddaughter of Edward I. John was created Earl of Cornwall, Butler Earl of Ormond, and Mortimer Earl of March.⁷ These titles were conferred in a Parliament held at Salisbury, the fourth of the year.⁸

¹ Foed. II. 715, 726, 733. August 1327–March 1328.

² See Cal. Pat. Roll, *passim*.

³ Bp. Stubbs, II. 390; Foed. 727; Wilkins, Conc. II. 544. Mepeham was consecrated at Avignon 5 June 1328.

⁴ Foss, Judges, III. 320. Previously he had been Treasurer. Northburgh of Lichfield succeeded him at the Treasury; Cal. Pat. Roll, 244, 249.

⁵ Knighton, 2553; Heming. Cont. II. 300.

⁶ 20–30 September; Knighton, *sup.*; Barnes. These entertainments were held in honour of the marriages of two daughters, wedded one to Edward son of the Earl of Norfolk, the other to Lawrence Hastings of Abergavenny, afterwards Earl of Pembroke.

⁷ Murimuth, 58; Knighton, *sup.* Butler was married to Eleanor daughter of the late Earl of Hereford by the Lady Elizabeth; Complete Peerage.

⁸ The first Parliament sat at York, 7 February–5 March; the second at Northampton, 24 April–14 May; the third at York again, 31 July–6 August; and the fourth at Salisbury, October 16–31; Lords' Report, I. 492. Convocations met in April, but were relieved of the trouble of voting money as John XXII had granted four years of Crusade Tenths, half for the King, half for the *Curia*; Wake, 280; Foed. II. 786.

Lancaster now resolved to assert himself. He had no personal spite against the late King, and must have been shocked at his treatment and death. He refused to appear at the Salisbury Parliament, taking up a position at Winchester. The prelates who did attend the Parliament showed a disposition to sympathize with him. Mortimer, invading the chamber where they were sitting, dared them at their peril to interfere with him. Stratford went off in open opposition.¹ Mortimer then marched out to challenge Lancaster. Friendly parties, however, succeeded for the time in averting a collision, and the Parliament was adjourned to the 9th February to meet at Westminster.²

But the parties were not at one yet. Lancaster had the support of the Earls of Norfolk and Kent, as well as that of the new Primate, Archbishop Simon of Mepeham, also that of the Bishops of Winchester and London, and the Barons Wake, Beaumont and Audley. The party established themselves in London. On the 2nd January 1329 Lancaster held a meeting at St. Paul's, and passed resolutions for getting the young King out of Mortimer's hands, and establishing the authority of the Council nominated at the coronation. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the peace with Scotland, he proposed to impeach those responsible for the treaty.³ While Lancaster was deliberating, Mortimer drew the sword, ravaging the lands of his opponents in the King's name. On the 4th January he occupied the Earl's town of Leicester. Henry advanced from the South as far as Bedford, intending to give battle. At the last moment he found himself deserted by Norfolk and Kent. Yielding to the advice of the prelates he made his submission, and was fined to the value of half his estate; Wake, Beaumont and other "minor offenders" fled the kingdom.⁴ Isabelle and Mortimer were thus reinstated in power.

Bolstered
up.

¹ Murimuth, 58; Rot. Parl. II. 52; Foed. II. 753; Angl. Sacr. I. 19, 29; Ann. Paul. 342.

² Foed. 756.

³ Ann. Paul. 343, 344; Dene, Angl. Sacr. I. 368; Barnes, 31, "where the articles are given from a C.C.C.C. MS."

⁴ See Knighton, c. 2554; Scalacr. 156; Rot. Parl. 256; Heming. Cont. II. 300. For support to Lancaster given by the Londoners see Foed. 755; Ann. Lond. 241.

The rumours that the late King was alive, of which we have spoken, were now becoming rife. Their prevalence proved "almost as great a source of embarrassment" to Mortimer and Isabelle as Edward's actual existence had been two years before.¹ Edmund of Kent had not purchased pardon by his submission. Smitten, probably, with compunction at the part he had taken against his brother, he had lent too ready an ear to the suggestions of Dunhead and the other Dominicans who maintained that Edward II was not dead but alive, and, apparently, he had worked with them to some extent for Edward's restoration. Maltravers was used as an *agent provocateur* to confirm him in his treasonable delusion.² A Parliament had been summoned to Winchester for the 11th March.³ On the 13th Edmund was arrested by the orders of Mortimer.⁴ On the 16th of the month an inquest was held before the coroner of the King's Household, when the wretched Earl put in a confession, a long rambling document, incriminating a host of persons, from Dunhead to the Pope (John XXII). Melton of York, Segrave of London, William de la Zouche, Henry of Beaumont, Hugh le Despenser IV, all had shared his belief in Edward's existence, and promised to aid him in his efforts; Donald of Mar would introduce troops through Scotland.⁵ The confession ended with an abject prayer for mercy; Edmund would present himself to the King as a penitent, barefooted, in his shirt, with a rope round his neck, at any place that Edward might be pleased to appoint. But Mortimer had no mercy. The confession was laid before the Peers in Parliament, and Edmund condemned as a traitor. On the 19th March he was beheaded at Winchester. It was said that for a time no man would act as executioner, and that the unfortunate Earl was kept for hours awaiting his doom.

Edmund
Earl of
Kent.

Tried and
executed.

¹ So Professor Tout remarks, *Polit. Hist.* III. 304.

² *Rot. Parlt.* II. 53, 55.

³ *Lords' Report.*

⁴ *Heming. Cont.* II. 301. The Countess and her children were arrested on the 14th March; *Foed.* II. 472.

⁵ See the confession in the original French; Murimuth, Appendix, 253. A fair summary is given by the Lanercost writer, 265.

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The employment of Maltravers, whose testimony on the matter in question would be incontrovertible, to delude Edmund, was a proceeding inexpressibly disgraceful to Mortimer and Isabelle; but it cannot be denied that the facts admitted by the Earl amounted to treason. Personally he was not regretted, as he kept a lawless household, which had been specially complained of in Parliament. At the same time everybody regarded him as the victim of a plot.¹

The execution of the Earl of Kent sealed Mortimer's doom. Nobody could feel safe. Suspects were required to give security for good conduct.² Mortimer's airs were intolerable; his elevation to an Earldom gave great offence; he kept a larger retinue than the King, and almost took precedence of him.³ Edward naturally hated him as his mother's paramour, and chafed at the tutelage in which he was kept.⁴ Philippa too might well be dissatisfied with her position. On the 28th February she had been crowned at Westminster.⁵ 1,000 marks was the modest sum found available for her Chamber; ⁶ while 10,000 marks from the Scottish tribute could be spared for the Queen mother, with all her vast possessions.⁷ On the 15th June Philippa gave birth to a son, England's future hero, Edward of Woodstock.⁸ A man old enough to be a father might fairly think himself old enough to rule. Edward took counsel with "the young men who stood before him" and resolved to shake off the irksome yoke. Plans were laid for getting rid of Mortimer during the sittings of a Grand Council summoned to meet at Nottingham on the 15th October; ⁹

Philippa
crowned.

An Heir
Apparent.

¹ See Lanercost, sup. and Knighton, 2555; Avesbury, 284; Baker, 43, 44. On the 24th March a report based on extracts from the Earl's confession was forwarded to the Pope; Foed. II. 783.

² Knighton, sup. Eble L'Estrange, titular Earl of Lincoln in right of his wife Alice de Lacy, was one of these. Alice was daughter of Henry Earl of Lincoln, and widow of Thomas of Lancaster; Complete Peerage.

³ Baker, 45; Rot. Parl.

⁴ Scalacr. 157; Avesbury, 285.

⁵ Ann. Paul. 349.

⁶ Cal. Pat. Roll, 1329, p. 389.

⁷ Foed. 777.

⁸ Baker, 45; Murimuth, 61; Heming. Cont. II. 302. The Pauline Annals give the 16th June, p. 349. The reader may be warned that the sobriquet Black Prince was a late invention, unknown to the prince's century or the next.

⁹ Lords' Report, IV. 395.

all the peers would be there. The secret, however, was not very well kept. When the Council met, Isabelle being present, Mortimer at once taxed the young King and his friends with hostile designs. All disclaimed any such purpose; William Montagu of Shepton Montagu springing to his feet, dared any man to accuse him of treason.¹ For the moment Mortimer was silenced, but as his suspicions had been excited not a moment was to be lost. 'Better eat the dog than be eaten of him' was Montagu's word. A desperate *coup de main* was resolved upon for that very night (19 October).² Isabelle, Mortimer, and the young King were established in the castle, which was most carefully guarded, day and night. The others were lodged in the town, all but Lancaster, to whom quarters were assigned still farther off. Montagu had got at Robert Holland, the constable of the castle, and had learned from him of the existence of a cavern or underground passage through the sandy rock on which the castle was built, unknown to Mortimer, by which access to the interior could be gained from without.³ At midnight⁴ Montagu mustered his high-born band, twenty-four strong, which included such men as Edward Bohun, brother of the Earl of Hereford, Ufford of Ufford, Neville of Hornby, Stafford of Stafford, Clinton of Maxtoke.⁵ Threading the mazes of the unsuspected tunnel they reached the castle enclosure, but access to the royal apartments was not gained without a sanguinary struggle with the attendants, in which Hugh of Trumington, the Steward of the Household, and Richard of Monmouth, one of the King's yeomen, were killed,⁶ several others being wounded. Edward in full armour was waiting for them upstairs at the door of his mother's chamber. Mortimer was found in an adjoining room in consultation with Burghersh the Chancellor. Isabelle, rushing in, implored her son to have mercy on her favourite. "Beal

Mortimer
attacked.

¹ Scalacr. 157; Rot. Parl. II. 53.

² Scalacr.; Rot. Parl.; Mon. Malm.

³ Knighton, 2556; Baker, 46; Avesbury, 285.

⁴ "A la minuyt;" Rot. Parl.

⁵ Rot. Parl. 56; Scalacr., sup.; Barnes, 47.

⁶ Foed. II. 830.

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fitz, beal fitz, eiez pitie de gentil Mortymer." Vainly she pleaded. Roger was seized and bound.¹ Next day Edward proclaimed the fact to the nation, announcing that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands.² Roger was sent to the Tower, his old quarters, his two sons Geoffrey and Edmund, Oliver Ingham and Simon of Bereford accompanying him. Their fate was reserved for a Parliament which was summoned for the 26th November.³

His trial.

The charges against the Earl of March were laid before the temporal peers, the earls and barons of the realm. Neither prelates nor commoners could interfere in such a matter. The indictment, preferred in the name of the King as prosecutor, extended to fourteen counts of a miscellaneous character. The main charge, of which the several counts were but illustrations and instances, was that Roger had 'accroched', i.e. usurped, royal authority, ousting the Regency Council appointed by Parliament, and taking the government of the Kingdom and Household into his own hands, as of course he had done. The primary overt acts assigned were those of compassing the deaths of Edward II and the Earl of Kent. Whereas 'the father of our lord the King' (delightful euphemism) had been established at Kenilworth by ordinance of the peers, Roger caused him to be sent to Berkeley Castle, where he was feloniously 'murdered and killed' by his, Roger's, men: he had led the Earl of Kent to believe that the 'father of our lord the King' was alive, and then had him condemned and put to death by the Winchester Parliament. Then Roger had procured for himself, his children and friends, lavish grants of Crown lands, property, and rights; had been a main cause of the estrangement between 'the father of our lord the King' and his consort; had appropriated the 20,000 marks paid by the Scots (Isabelle had half of this, as we

¹ Baker, sup.; Murimuth, 61, 62; Knighton, sup.; Bridlington, 101. The underground passage gained the name of Mortimer's Hole.

² Foed. II. 799; 20 October.

³ Knighton, 2556. The party reached London on the 27th October; Ann. Paul. 352.

have seen); had taken 'prises' like a king,¹ keeping double the retinue that the King did. Lancaster's grievances also came in for notice. Roger had attended the Salisbury Parliament in arms, after forbidding others to do so, whereby the Earl had been kept at a distance. Mortimer had then led the King to attack him as an enemy, ravaging his estates, finally mulcting him of half his estate, and banishing some of his friends. The final count is an amazing one, even for the times: he had ventured to question the King's word at the Council on the Friday when he assured him that he and his private friends meant Roger and the Queen no harm (!). After a short deliberation the peers, returning, found that all the matters charged were notorious, 'especially the article touching the death of Sir Edward the father of our lord the King'. Sentence followed, and Roger was condemned to be drawn and hung as an enemy of King and country.² Mortimer was not confronted with his judges,³ the case thus going beyond the precedents of the cases of Thomas of Lancaster and the two Despensers, who were produced, but not allowed to speak. On the 29th November Roger was drawn on an ox-hide to the Elms at Tyburn, and hung on the common gallows there.⁴

The King then requested a like 'true and loyal' judgement against Bereford, Maltravers, Thomas Gurney and William Ogle. Bereford was charged with having been a general accomplice of the Earl of March; Maltravers with having been the main instrument in deluding the Earl of Kent; Gurney and Ogle were denounced as the perpetrators of the murder of the late King. All were condemned; but the lords entered a protest against being called upon to judge men who were not their peers, and requested that the case might not be made a precedent.⁵

¹ For cases of extortion and illegal purveyance see Rot. Parlt. II. 34, 40, 51.

² Rot. Parlt. 52, 53.

³ Murimuth, 65.

⁴ Rot. Parlt. sup. "Apud Elmes, super communi furca latronum;" "ad ulmos prope Tyborne;" Murimuth, sup. and note; "usque furcas apud Elmes;" Avesbury, 285.

⁵ Rot. Parlt. 53, 54.

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1330

Bereford being in custody suffered at Tyburn.¹ Maltravers, Gurney and Ogle saved themselves by flight.² Berkeley, as already mentioned, was called on to explain how the late King came to be murdered when under his charge. He cleared himself by an *alibi*, accepted as a fact by a jury of knights, but disproved by the damning evidence of his own domestic accounts when brought to light.

No reference to Isabelle had been made in the proceedings against Mortimer and his associates. In hasty alarm at the proceedings against them she took the habit of the Poor Claires, a sister Order of the Franciscans.³ She was required to surrender her ill-gotten possessions, and restricted to her original dower of £3,000 a year.⁴ But she was not subjected to any further molestation; she was allowed freely to move about the country at will, and regularly received dutiful visits from her son. She died in 1358 at her castle at Hertford.⁵

Isabelle and Mortimer must be given credit for their pacific policy towards Scotland and France; on the Scottish question their views were distinctly in advance of public opinion. But the rule of two persons situated as they were could not long be endured; and they did little to reconcile the country to it. Both were greedy and rapacious, both in spite of their excessive wealth freely indulged in illegal purveyance.⁶ Instances of Mortimer's doings have already been given. On the Patent Rolls we have writs of aid for strings of men appointed purveyors for the Queen's household, 'except in the fee of the Church', a tell-tale reservation. In addition to her original dower-lands we find her invested with Ponthieu, Cornwall, the High Peak, the farm of Winchelsea,⁷ the borough of

¹ Knighton, 2558. Mr. Aungier, Chron. Lond. 64 note, gives the date as 24 December.

² See the order for their arrest, only dated 3rd December, four days after Mortimer's execution. For their subsequent history see above, p. 170. The dilatoriness of the proceedings suggest that the Government was not too anxious to produce them.

³ Lanercost, 266.

⁴ Foed. II. 835.

⁵ Knighton; Sandford, Genl. Hist.

⁶ Cal. Pat. Roll, Edw. III, I. 385, 451, &c.

⁷ Foed. 728, 771, 835; Cal. Pat. Roll, 399, 491.

Tewkesbury, the manor and castle of Henley, Malvern Chase, the Honour of Pontefract, the Earl of Kent's house at Westminster, &c., &c.¹ Mortimer aspired to building up a palatinate that would have made him the dominant power in Wales and on the Welsh March. He had succeeded to his uncle's estate of Chirk,² was appointed Justiciar of Wales for life, and also Justiciar of the bishoprics of St. Davids and Llandaff, separate offices.³ Besides minor grants he had Denbigh, Oswestry, Clun and other March lands, late of Despenser and the Earl of Arundel, to the value of £1,000 a year; ⁴ he was Warden of Glamorgan and Morgannoc.⁵ In Ireland he had the liberty of Trim, in right of his wife Jeanne de Geneville; ⁶ also full palatine franchises over Meath and Uriel (Louth).⁷ In addition to all these he had the profitable wardships of Nicholas of Audley, of Laurence Hastings, of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, of Richard Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare,⁸ with finally the 'marriage,' i.e. the right of selling the hand of Marie of Saint Pol, widow of Aylmer of Valence, late Earl of Pembroke.⁹

The rehabilitation and reward of injured or deserving parties now came on for consideration, with necessary ministerial changes; Melton of York was replaced in the Treasury, while Burghersh handed over the Seal to Stratford.¹⁰ The young Earls of Kent and Arundel were admitted to their estates. The Lancastrian exiles Wake and Beaumont were recalled; and the fines imposed at Bedford remitted. Montagu was liberally endowed with lands forfeited by Mortimer, while Edward Bohun, Ufford, and Neville also received grants of land.¹¹ In the confused state of politics men who had sided with the King found it expedient to take out pardons, as well as those who had sided against him.

¹ Cal. Pat. Roll, 511, 512, 519, 521. ² Id. 141. ³ Id. 207, 311, 327.

⁴ Id. 328. ⁵ Id. 125. ⁶ Id. 159. ⁷ Id. 538. ⁸ Id. 225, 311, 377, 484.

⁹ Id. 166. The Countess does not appear to have been remarried; she lived to found Pembroke College, Cambridge, "Aula Mariae de Valentia."

¹⁰ 28 November; Foed. II. 800; Foss, III. 463.

¹¹ Rot. Parl. II. 54, 56. Kent was Edmund, son of late Edmund, a boy two years old; he died in 1333. Arundel was Richard FitzAlan, son of Edmund beheaded in 1326; Complete Peerage.

CHAPTER XIII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1330-1332

Relations with France.—Liege Homage for Aquitaine.—Scottish affairs.—
“The Disinherited Barons.”—Edward Balliol invades Scotland; wins battle
of Dupplin; is crowned, and expelled.—Parliament sitting in two Houses.

THE events of the reign of Edward II had been mainly domestic; foreign relations were destined to dominate the reign of his son. Down to the year 1330 nothing had been done on either side towards carrying out the provisions of the treaty of March 1327. In April (1330) Orleton and Northburgh were instructed to press for the due restitution of territory by the French, at the same time suggesting a marriage between Edward's sister Eleanor and John the son of the King of France.¹ The result was a treaty signed at Vincennes on the 8th May.² By that arrangement the French made some concessions to please the English; they agreed to restore places given as Sales, Sarrafront and D'Anteyrac,³ which had been seized by the Counts of Foix and Armagnac; and they agreed that the English should be at liberty to set off any moneys that might be found to be due to them from France in reduction of the war indemnity. On the other hand the English found that under the provisions of the treaty of 1327 they had become liable for a further sum of 60,000 “livres Parisis” under the head of “*transport*” in Guienne. Then the question of the nature of the homage due still remained unsettled. Philip demanded an acknowledgement that ‘liege’ homage was due, and summoned Edward to appear before the Parliament of Paris on 29th July 1330. Edward did not appear, and

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1330
Relations
with
France.

¹ Foed. II. 185; see also 779.

² Id. 791. Ratified by Edward 8 July; Id. 793.

³ I cannot find the places in the Gazetteer.

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1331

Liege
homage
admitted
to be due.

Trip to
France.

a renewed summons was issued on the 1st September.¹ Mortimer was then still at the head of affairs in England, and he seemed inclined to take a gloomy view of the situation. On the 20th September he writes in the King's name to the Pope informing him that Philip seems bent on war. On the same day he writes to the Seneschal of Gascony instructing him to be forbearing in his dealings with the agents of the King of France, but if need be to resist force by force.² After the fall of Mortimer Edward exerted himself to cultivate a better understanding with France, with decided success.³ On the 30th March 1331 he sealed a declaration that the homage rendered for Guienne and Ponthieu was, and ought to be, 'liege' homage, involving the oath of fealty.⁴ As Edward was now his own master no question could be raised as to the validity of his recognition of Philip's title.

But another difficulty had suddenly cropped up. In pursuance, apparently, of Mortimer's last instructions the English had garrisoned the castle of Saintes on the Charente. Philip sent his brother the Count of Alençon to watch the frontier. Alençon, exceeding his orders, attacked Saintes and took it.⁵ War might easily have broken out; but Edward took prompt measures to avert the evil. Having set himself right by the admission of liege homage, he was in a position to demand satisfaction. Crossing the Channel on the 4th April, he paid an unostentatious visit to the court of France, met Philip at Pont St. Maxence, and obtained the restitution of Saintes with the promise of 30,000 livres Tournois as damages.⁶

The state of relations with France was laid before the peers in a Parliament which met at Westminster on the

¹ Foed. II. 797.

² See Id. 805, 806, 813.

³ See De Nangis, Cont. D'Achery, III. 94; Grandes Chroniques, V. 342; Foed. 821. No date is given, but the seizure of Saintes by Alençon apparently happened early in 1331.

⁴ Edward returned on the 20th April. The documents agreeing to the restitution of Saintes are dated 13th April, St. Christofle, in the neighbouring forest of Halatte; Foed. 815-818; cf. 821, 832.

⁵ Foed. 798.

⁶ Id. 813.

30th September.¹ Their attention was specially directed to the non-restitution of the Agenais; and the King begged for their advice on the point whether he ought to proceed by way of peaceable negotiation, or by arms. The lords one and all agreed in deprecating war. The condition of Ireland was also taken into consideration, and the suggestion was thrown out that the King should pay an early visit to the dominion.² In this Parliament the King granted petitions for the enlargement of Hugh le Despenser III, and Thomas Berkeley; and promised to take the case of Edmund son of the late Mortimer into gracious consideration.³ Nothing was said about Scottish affairs; and the omission, under the circumstances, was somewhat significant. The relations of the two countries were really in a very critical state. Edward's primary ambition at this time undoubtedly was to resume the abortive undertaking of his grandfather, at any rate to the extent of establishing an overlordship. He had never affected to conceal his aversion to the treaty of Northampton;⁴ and it so happened that matters connected with the treaty might in a manner be made to furnish an excuse for an indirect or unofficial war with Scotland. The actual clauses of the treaty had, so far as we can trace, been honourably fulfilled on both sides.⁵ But the negotiators, as so often happens in such cases, had found it necessary to supplement the provisions of the formal compact by other stipulations not

Relations
with
Scotland.

¹ Rot. Parl. II. 60; Lords' Report, I. 492. The writ "De expensis" is dated the 9th October.

² Cf. Foed. II. 825, 828. In March William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, had been appointed King's Lieutenant, and a code of ordinances published; the extreme moderation of their requirements is significant: felons and outlaws must not be appointed to offices of trust; crown rights must not be jobbed; sheriffs must account for their receipts; faith must be kept with the Irish; Id. 811, 812. De Burgh was the grandson of Richard the 'Red Earl'; he left an only daughter, Elizabeth, who lived to marry Edward III's son Lionel. The Ulster estates, however, were broken up—a great blow to the English dominion.

³ See Rot. Parl. 60–63. For a statute passed (5 Edw. III) see Statutes, I. 265; Purveyance again figures.

⁴ Knighton, 2560.

⁵ The 30,000 marks which Robert had agreed to pay under the marriage treaty had been duly paid; Foed. 775, 795, 804; the last is a receipt in full. So too, Excheq. Rolls, Scotland, I. 403.

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The Dis-
inherited
Barons.

committed to paper. Chief of these was an understanding or agreement for the reinstatement on either side of persons dispossessed through the late wars. The list of the English "Disherited" or claimants as they might perhaps be more justly termed (*Les Querellours*),¹ included the names of Henry Percy, Henry of Beaumont, Thomas Wake, William de la Zouche, Henry Ferrers, John Mowbray: also those of Richard Talbot, Gilbert of Umfraville Earl of Angus, Walter Comyn, and David of Strathbogie Earl of Atholl. The last-named, grandson of Earl John who suffered in 1306, besides the regular Atholl Estates, laid claim, in right of his mother Joan Comyn, to one-half of the estates of Red John Comyn, slain by Bruce at Dumfries.² The other half of the same estates was claimed by Richard Talbot of Goodrich Castle, in right of his wife Elizabeth, the other daughter of John Comyn. Henry of Beaumont claimed the Earldom of Buchan in right of his wife Joan, heiress of John 5th Earl of Buchan.³ Another old antagonist of the Bruce, Wake, claimed Liddesdale, the key to the Western Marches, in right of his grandmother Joan D'Estuteville. Gilbert of Umfraville demanded the lands forfeited by his father Robert. Henry Ferrers and William de la Zouche had pretensions to lands in Galloway and elsewhere, formerly held by Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester. Galloway it may be remembered had long sided with Balliol. Roger the father of John Mowbray had estates at Eckford in Roxburghshire, Kelly in Fife, and Methven in Perthshire. These had all passed to the Stewarts. Walter Comyn was in all likelihood the son or representative of William Comyn of Kilbride in Lanarkshire.⁴

To have demanded the reinstatement of all these men would have been tantamount to demanding the restoration of the Comyn-Balliol party in Scotland. No Scottish

¹ Scalacr.

² Hailes, II. 159; Hill Burton, II. 312 (2nd ed.); Complete Peerage. David also claimed through his grandmother, Jeanne of Valence, half the Pembroke estates; Id. and Foed. II. 791.

³ "Johanna Comyn", Countess Buchan, Rot. Scot. I. 399.

⁴ See Hailes, 159-162, and the authorities cited by him.

government could have listened to such a suggestion, and the English, apparently, limited their request to the restitution of the lands of Percy, Wake and Beaumont.¹ The obligation on the English side was a light one, and readily complied with. In May 1329 Douglas had been admitted to the estates in Northumberland formerly held by his father; and the abbeys of Arbroath and Jedburgh replaced in the enjoyment of English patronage appertaining to them.²

Had Edward been ever so anxious to remain on friendly terms with Scotland he must have found it difficult to withstand the pressure of such a body of men as the claimants, belonging for the most part to the party to which he was indebted for deliverance from the hands of Mortimer. Mortimer himself had evidently been obliged to humour them. In July and again in October 1330 Edward Balliol, son and heir of King John, had been invited to come to England.³ Two months later Edward, now his own master, writes to complain that whereas Percy, Wake and Beaumont were to be restored, only Percy had been restored.⁴ So again in 1331 and 1332, the names of the Bishop of Durham and that of Thomas or third Beaumont are added to the list of those whose claims should be attended to.⁵

But Edward while proclaiming his entire regard for the treaty, and forbidding armed men to leave the kingdom or to cross the Scottish March without leave,⁶ could shut his eyes to the equipment of a little armament in the remote waters of the Humber. Edward Balliol and his Disinherited followers had resolved to try their luck in Scotland; the circumstances of the time were eminently favourable. Bruce and Douglas were gone, the King was a child, and the Regent Moray was sinking to his grave. In fact he died before Balliol made his start.⁷ On the 31st July the force,

¹ Foed. II. 804; Scalacr. 156.

² Cal. Pat. Roll, II. 394, 496; Foed. 762.

³ Foed. 795, 799. Early in the previous reign Edward Balliol had been in England apparently as somewhat of a State prisoner.

⁴ Foed. 804.

⁵ Id. 806, 807, 809, 837.

⁶ Id. 810, 837.

⁷ He died on the 20th July; Fordun, 354; Complete Peerage.

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Scotland
invaded.

estimated at some 300-400 men-at-arms, or 500 all told, sailed from Ravenspur, a site no longer existing, and six days later anchored under the rocky cliffs of Kinghorn in the Forth. An attempt by Duncan Macduff the Earl of Fife to resist their landing was repulsed with loss, and the force after two days' rest at Kinghorn advanced to Dunfermline (8th August). Making for Perth, on the 11th August they encamped at Forteviot, on 'The Miller's Acre' with the river Earn in front of them.¹

As already mentioned the Regent Moray had just passed away, an irreparable loss to the Scots. He died at Musselburgh in his harness, on the look-out for the adventurers. The appointment of a new Regent was not effected without a keen struggle between Scottish parties. At last the magnates were brought to agree upon Donald Earl of Mar, a man doubly connected with the Royal family, being son of Christina Bruce, King Robert's sister, while King Robert's first wife had been Isabel of Mar, Donald's aunt. He himself was a young man of no military experience. He had lived in England till he joined his countrymen in 1327; till then his sympathies, of course, had been all with Balliol and the Disinherited, and they had looked for support from him. But now as Regent he espoused the national cause.²

At Forteviot the Disinherited soon found themselves in danger of being placed between two fires. The levies from the North, having gathered at Perth under the Regent, moved up to the heights of Dupplin, and took up their position there, facing the English position at the ford of the Earn; while the Southern contingent, under Patrick Dunbar Earl of March, had reached Auchterarder, only eight miles from Forteviot.³ In this predicament Beaumont, who had the military command, resolved to take the enemy singly, and to dispose of Mar by a night attack, before Dunbar could come up to co-operate.⁴ The Earn, accord-

¹ Bridlington, 104; Lanercost, 267; Fordun, sup.; Avesbury, 296; Scotichr. II. 304; Chron. Meaux, II. 362.

² Bridlington, 104, 105.

³ Scotichr. sup.; Wyntoun, II. 150.

⁴ Scalacr. 160.

ingly, was forded at dead of night; a Scottish camp was then encountered, and havoc made of the helpless sleeping occupants. The English, indulging in wild indiscriminate pursuit, got scattered in the darkness, and lost all touch of each other, till the flames of a blazing cottage gave them a rallying point, when we are told that they all ran in, 'like partridges'.¹ Daylight disclosed the fact that the camp that had been stormed was only that of the grooms and camp followers, and that the real enemy was coming down upon them in force. The men-at-arms fell in hastily, and formed line, with a frontage of about 200 yards,² with the archers on their flanks.³ The Scots came on in two divisions, the van commanded by young Thomas Randolph Earl of Moray, and Murthac⁴ or Murdoch Earl of Menteith, while the main body followed the Regent. All on either side fought on foot, except some 40 Flemish Auxiliaries, with the English. The Scottish van, consisting of the flower of their force, namely the men-at-arms or gentlemen, being in strength apparently about equal to that of the English line, charged home, and with the advantage of a slope of about one foot in eight⁵ in their favour, began driving the adventurers down the hill. Ralph Lord Stafford gained great credit for his presence of mind in ordering the English to turn their shoulders and not their breasts to the enemy, so as to offer a better resistance to the pressure from above.⁶ The survivors of the Scottish van used to say that if they had been left to themselves, they would have done well enough; as it was, however, Mar thought it incumbent on him to overwhelm them with assistance. He had the whole of the light-armed irregular levies massed in one big battalion, presumably in the usual⁷ circular "schiltrum" formation, though the word is not used; but anyhow the men were so closely packed that they could scarcely breathe.

Battle of
Dupplin.

¹ Scalacr. 160.

² "In longitudine unius stadii;" Avesbury, 297.

³ Chron. Meaux, II. 364.

⁴ So Wyntoun spells it.

⁵ The Ordnance Survey Map shows a fall of 265 feet in 660 yards.

⁶ Lanercost, 268; Wyntoun, 152.

⁷ "More suo;" Bridlington, 106.

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1332

Had Donald broken up and divided his force, he might have surrounded the English. But his idea was simply to carry all before him by sheer weight of metal. Plunging downhill, he fell upon the men-at-arms of the van, breaking their formation, and stumbling over them; while his own men from behind, pressing on, rank after rank, kept tumbling in helpless masses over their fallen comrades in front. In an incredibly short space of time a ghastly heap of suffocated bodies was piled up to the height of a spear, say 15 feet, along the whole length of the little line of battle.¹ The English were astonished at their own success. Among the fallen were the Earls of Mar, Moray, and Menteith; Robert Bruce, a natural son of the late King and Alexander Fraser. The Earl of Fife was taken prisoner. The Scots admitted a total of 3,000 losses, with 370 men-at-arms (*loricati*) among them.² On the English side thirty-three men-at-arms fell in the front rank. The archers escaped without loss.³

Perth
occupied.

From the banks of the Earn the adventurers marched to Perth and took possession. Anticipating an attack they made haste to repair the dismantled fortifications. Within four days' time they were besieged by Dunbar and his host. At the end of six days the attack was dropped. On the 24th August a convoy with supplies under John Crab, a noted Flemish captain, was destroyed by the English fleet in the Tay, and so 'for lack of victual' the Earl of March had to disband his men.⁴

Balliol apparently remained some five weeks in Perthshire arranging for a coronation. The Earl of Fife and William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, procured him the support of representatives of the clergy and gentry of the Lowland districts North of the Forth. Sinclair had always been the staunchest of patriots, but Fife had gained his

¹ 13 August; Knighton, 256r; Bridlington; Lanercost; Avesbury, sup.

² Fordun, and Scotichr. sup.

³ Knighton, 256r.

⁴ Id. Scalacr. 161; Bridlington, 107; Knighton, sup. The account in Bridlington must have been supplied by one who was in Perth, as he notices the fine conduit of water flowing past the town. For Crab's ships see Excheq. Rolls, Scotland, I. cxlii.

liberty by changing sides.¹ In the last week of September, or the first week of October, King Edward was crowned at Scone;² but the guests at the coronation banquet could not venture to dispense with their armour; only their helmets were laid aside.³

Meanwhile the Scots had appointed a fresh Regent, namely, Andrew Murray of Bothwell, son of Wallace's coadjutor of 1297;⁴ and he and Archibald Douglas, younger brother of the late James, were busy ravaging the lands of the Comyn partisans in Galloway; the coronation over, therefore, Balliol hastened to assist his friends and advance his own interests in the South. Fife was left in command at Perth, and, as might have been anticipated, at once allowed his countrymen to regain possession.⁵ Sweeping through Kyle and Cunninghame (Ayrshire), Balliol entered Galloway, where the men 'on this side' (i.e. East) of the Cree received him. Pressing Eastwards through the Forest of Selkirk, he reached Roxburgh on the 14th October, where the Regent Murray, attempting to intercept him in his quarters in Kelso Abbey, was himself intercepted, and sent a prisoner to Carlisle.⁶

A new
Regent.

On the 23rd November Balliol, being still at Roxburgh, sealed a very remarkable document. Not only does he formally recognize that the crown of Scotland had always been held of that of England by liege homage, but he declares, apparently as a matter of fact, that he had actually rendered the homage, and that it had been accepted by Edward. If so, the homage must have been rendered in private, before Balliol embarked on his enterprise, and Edward, by accepting it, would have given a formal sanction to his vassal's proceeding. Balliol, however, does not claim

Balliol and
Edward
III.

¹ Fordun, 355; Lanercost, 269.

² 24th September, Fordun; 27th September, Heming. Cont., and Walsingham; 4 October, Lanercost. The latter two dates would fall on Sundays, not so the first one.

³ Bridlington, 108, followed by the Meaux writer.

⁴ See Bain, Calendar, I. xxix. 300; Dawn of Constitution, 455, note.

⁵ 7 October; Fordun, Knighton, Lanercost, sup. The walls were again at once dismantled Scotichr.

⁶ Scalacr. 161; Lanercost, 270.

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to have acted with full sanction, but only by the kind 'sufferance'¹ of his lord the King, and by the help of some of his subjects. In return for these obligations he undertakes to serve the King of England with 200 men-at-arms on demand, and to cede the town and county of Berwick, with 2,000 'liverees' of land on the Scottish March, to be annexed to the crown of England. He also expressed a willingness to take over the young queen Johane as an appurtenance of the Scottish Crown, if her betrothal to David should not ripen into holy wedlock.² Plainly, Edward Balliol was prepared to stoop to concessions to which his father, honest John, never would have stooped. Of course the Roxburgh agreement was kept a profound secret, even from the Pope. On the 15th December Edward writes to the Holy Father to put him on his guard against unfavourable reports of recent events in Scotland; the King will tell him exactly what has happened. While holding a Parliament at Westminster on the state of Ireland, he received intelligence that Edward Balliol, son of the late King John, had landed in Scotland with a party of Englishmen of rank, who laid claim to certain estates in Scotland; Balliol had defeated the Scots, and caused himself to be crowned King; and a certain number of the Scottish magnates had declared for him. By the advice of his Parliament, he (Edward) had moved to the North, to protect his frontier, and watch the course of events.³ It should also be pointed out that all this time Edward was keeping up friendly communication with the Scottish national government.⁴ In less than a month from the date of the treaty of Roxburgh Balliol was driven helter-skelter out of Scotland. He had taken up his quarters at Annan, intending to keep his Christmas there; his force had been weakened by the retirement of some of his chief supporters, called to attend an English Parliament. On the night of the 16th-17th December

Balliol
expelled.

¹ "Sufferance." In later documents Balliol declared that he had recovered the crown by the 'toleration and aid' (*per tollerantiam et auxilium*) of Edward; Foed. II. 876.

² Id. See also Rot. Parl. II. 66.

³ Id. 847.

⁴ Foed. 847, 849.

John Randolph the young Earl of Moray, Archibald Douglas, and Simon Fraser, having gathered a band of men at Moffat, fell on the party at Annan, slew some of Balliol's chief supporters in their beds, and sent him and the survivors to find a refuge with the Friars Minors at Carlisle.¹

Down to September (1332) no supply had been voted by Parliament since the Twentieth granted at Lincoln for the Scottish campaign in 1327. The Pope in 1330 had granted Crusade Tenths for four years, but half of the proceeds were to be reserved to the *Curia*.² The Government being thus left without sufficient funds, the old expedients had to be resorted to. On the 18th June all private charters were called in for resealing; while on the 25th of the month a tallage of one-fourteenth of movables, and one-ninth of rents was imposed on Crown demesnes by the King's mere authority.³ On the following day, again, commissioners were named to treat with the clergy for an 'Aid' for the recent marriage of the King's sister Eleanor with Reginald II Count of Gueldres.⁴ The matter of the tallage was taken up in a Parliament which sat at Westminster 9th-12th September. The King agreed to accept a Fifteenth and Tenth, and revoked the order for the unlawful tallage, the last probably ever demanded by an English King.⁵ From the Customs' Accounts of the year we learn that another illegality was committed in the shape of an unauthorized imposition of a surtax on wool, in addition to the existing Old and New Customs; the amount of the surtax, however, is not stated.⁶

¹ Fordun, 356; Scalacr. sup; Lanercost, 271. The writer—a Carlisle Franciscan—probably had the story from Edward or one of his followers.

² Foed. II. 786; Wake, State of Church, 280.

³ Foed. 839, 840. Cf. Issue Rolls, Devon, 142.

⁴ For this marriage, which was celebrated this year about this time, see Foed. 832, 833, 836; and especially Green, Princesses, III. 73-81. Eleanor sailed from England early in May (1332). The subsidies from the clergy were extorted in the following spring; Foed. 851-853.

⁵ Rot. Parl. II. 66; Bp. Stubbs, sup. 395; Foed. 845.

⁶ "Subsidium ultra antiquam custumam;" L. T. R. Enrolled Customs Accounts, No. 5, m. 2.

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1332

The proceedings of the Parliament, short as it was, offer several points of interest. A fixed assessment for the levy of lay subsidies, like that established for clerical subsidies in 1291, was agreed upon.¹ Then the session may be taken to mark the era of the final arrangement of Parliament, as two Houses, Lords and Commons, the Burgesses sitting with the Knights of the Shire. This conjunction may be attributed partly to the growing wealth and importance of the towns and commercial population, partly to the 'reality' of the deliberations in Parliament, and the growing sphere of action allotted to the Commons; the King appeals to them as well as to the Barons, on questions of public policy, such as his relations with France, or the propriety of joining Philip in a proposed Crusade.² The importance of the conjunction of the county and borough representatives can hardly be over-estimated. Divided as four orders, clergy, baronage, knights and burgesses the influence of Parliament "would have been neutralized at every great crisis by the jealousies and difficulty of co-operation among its component parts". The knights, by their connexion with the baronage as landed gentry on the one hand, and their political conjunction with the burgesses on the other hand, "really welded the three orders into one, and gave that unity of feeling and action to our Parliament on which its power has ever since mainly depended".³

¹ Rot. Parlt. II. 66, 67.

² Id. 65; Stubbs, sup.

³ Green, Hist. Eng. People, I. 394.

CHAPTER XIV

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1330-1335

War with Scotland.—Battle of Halidon Hill.—Scotland prostrate.—Again in arms.—Church Affairs.

SINCE the Stanhope Park campaign Edward had been CHAP. XIV
compelled to find scope for his martial tastes in tournaments 1330
enlivened with the grotesque pageants in which the age Tournam-
delighted. Ostensibly forbidden,¹ these ticklish encounters ments.
were greatly patronized and encouraged by the King. In
May 1330, on his return from France, he took a manly part,
and received some shrewd blows² in a tournament held at
Dartford 'under the banners'³ of William Lord Clinton.
But, with all his courage, Edward was not destitute of
proper prudence. Returning from the lists he insisted on
dismounting an unruly charger; and well it was for him
that he did so. The river Darent had to be forded on their
way to their quarters; on reaching the ford the animal
plunged into deep water, and Edward in his armour would
certainly have been drowned.⁴ Then in the following June
we have another tournament, given by Robert Lord Morley
in front of the Bishop's palace at Stepney. On the previous
Sunday the intending tilters—the King and his uncle of
Norfolk among them—marched in masquerading procession
to offer at St. Paul's.⁵ But the most gorgeous affair of all
was the tournament held in Cheapside between the Eleanor
Cross and the Great Conduit⁶ at the charges of Lord

¹ Foed. II. 794-797.

² "Egregie verberatus ictus fortes sustinuit;" Ann. Paul. 352.

³ "Sub vexillis."

⁴ Ann. Paul. sup.

⁵ "Omnes erant larvati tam milites quam armigeri."

⁶ The Eleanor Cross faced the present Wood Street. The Great Conduit stood between Queen Street and the Poultry; the Little Conduit faced Foster Lane at the west end of Cheapside. See Wheatley and Cunningham, "London".

CHAP. XIV
1331

Montagu in September 1331. On the preceding Sunday (22 September) Montagu, the King, and a select band of knights rode the streets, dressed up as Tartars; each knight had a lady on his right hand, robed in ruby velvet, and led by a silver chain; the King had his sister, the Lady Eleanor, a beautiful girl, married not long afterwards to the Count of Guelders, and so they rode two and two, amid the clang of trumpets and all kinds of music. The chargers, superbly caparisoned, closed the procession. For three days sixteen challengers held the lists against all comers (September 23–25). But the jousting of the first day was marred by an accident that might have had serious consequences; a stand or gallery set up for the accommodation of the Queen and her ladies—apparently across the street—collapsed; several people were hurt, but fortunately no lives were lost.¹

Parlia-
ments.

With an opening for an attack on Scotland Edward could now turn his attention to war in earnest. To advise the King on the course to be pursued towards the Scots another Parliament, the third of the year² 1332, was summoned to York for the 5th December. The King inquired of his lieges if they would advise him to lay claim to the direct dominion³ of Scotland, or to the overlordship of it, 'as his ancestors had it'; or again to the value thereof.⁴ With reference to the treaty of 1328, he called their attention to the fact that it had been negotiated when he was under age, and in the hands of others. An excuse for avoiding a direct answer was found in the absence of the majority of the bishops, and the Parliament, at its own request, was prorogued to the 20th January 1333.⁵ The adjourned session duly met at York, but after six days of 'diligent' discussion the Houses were unable to agree upon an answer

¹ See Ann. Paul. 352–355; Murimuth, 60; Avesbury, 286; Baker, 48; Heming, Cont. II. 303.

² The first session was held at Westminster 17–21 March (Lords' Report). Great complaint was raised of brigandage, persons being carried off for ransom and the like. An increase in the Commissioners of the Peace was agreed upon; Rot. Parl. II. 64. The second session was that of 9–12 September above noticed, p. 223.

³ "le demeigne de mesme la terre."

⁴ "ou la value."

⁵ Rot. Parl. 67.

that the King cared to accept. Strong as was the party of the Disinherited, with all the weight of Royal influence behind them, they were unable to commit the nation to a rupture with Scotland. The King dismissed his lieges, and, in thanking them for their kind attendance, told them that he would take counsel with the King of France and the Pope.¹

Edward of course consulted neither, and began to prepare for war without further delay. The sums 'promised' by individual clergy for the marriage of the King's sister were exacted with great severity, the King admitting 'no excuses'.² Distrain for knighthood was enforced against all landowners to the value of £40 a year.³

About the 10th March, if not before, Balliol, now openly supported by the King of England, recrossed the Border;⁴ and, after capturing a small peel belonging to Robert of Colville, "probably Oxnam in Teviotdale", marched to the siege of Berwick. The Earls of Lancaster and Arundel, William Montagu and Ralph Neville, were said to be with him. On the 20th March Edward orders supplies to be sent to Northumberland for the use of his lieges engaged in defending his borders against 'the hostile aggressions' of the Scots; while next day he boldly announces that the Scots have broken the recent peace, and orders a muster of the military tenants for the 30th May.⁵ As a matter of fact Northumberland was not touched till after Balliol had crossed the Border, while on the Western Marches the first bands only passed Carlisle on the 23rd March.⁶ Archibald Douglas, elected Warden in succession to the captured Murray, inflicted a fresh harrying on devoted Gillsland; while the English retaliated to better effect by invading Annandale, where they defeated and carried off William

War with
Scotland.

¹ 26 January 1333; Rot. Parl. II. 68.

² See the order, 12 February; Foed. II. 851-853, 859, 864. The sums paid by individuals varied from 50s. to £100.

³ Id. 855.

⁴ Heming. Cont. II. 306; Lanercost, 272. Knighton, II. 562 and the Scalacr. place Balliol's advance a fortnight earlier.

⁵ Foed. 855-857. For further preparations, hobelers, archers, shipping, victuals, &c., see Rot. Scot. I. 225.

⁶ Lanercost, 272. Cf. Heming. Cont., sup., and Bridlington, 111.

CHAP. XIV

1333

Douglas, a kinsman of the Black Douglas, known in Scottish history as the Knight of Liddesdale, a noted Border hero.¹

Siege of
Berwick.

Edward did not keep his levies waiting. On the 22nd April he appeared at Newcastle. From thence he writes to Flanders insisting that no succour must be sent to the Scots; to the King of France he explains that the Scots have been the first to break the truce.² By the 14th May he reached the banks of the Tweed,³ bent on giving effect to the cession made by Balliol. The latter and Montagu had invested Berwick six weeks before; ⁴ while an English fleet blockaded the harbour. A grand assault was immediately given in honour of the King's arrival.⁵ But the fortifications of Edward I were too strong to be carried by assault, and the siege again became a mere blockade. Towards the end of June, however, it became apparent that unless speedily relieved Berwick must fall. Accordingly, Dunbar the Earl of March and Alexander Seton, who were in command, verbally agreed to a convention of the usual sort, namely that they would surrender if not relieved within fifteen days, and gave hostages.⁶

This treaty by luring the Scots to risk a pitched encounter proved a fatal snare to them. On the 11th July,⁷ within the appointed time, a Scottish army having crossed the Tweed at a place given as "Yarforde" advanced to Tweedmouth, and succeeded in throwing some sort of relief into Berwick.⁸ After remaining within sight of the English army for twenty-four hours they marched off to harry Northumberland, and make a diversion by attacking Bamborough, where Queen Philippa was established.⁹

¹ Dornock, 24 March; Lanercost; Scotichr. II. 319; Foed. II. 856.

² Id. 858-860; 862.

³ Tweedmouth, Rot. Scot. I. 238.

⁴ 31 March; Fordun. The Lanercost writer notices fighting near Berwick on the 25th March.

⁵ 18 May; Heming. Cont. II. 307; Lanercost, 273; Scalacr. 162.

⁶ Scalacr. 163; Fordun, 359; Scotichr. II. 309, 311; Bridlington, 112.

⁷ Knighton, 2563; Heming. 308.

⁸ Knighton, Heming. Scalacr. sup.

⁹ Higden, VIII. 328; Mon. Malm. Cont. 291.

The fifteen days having now elapsed the English demanded the surrender of Berwick ; but the Scots contended that the place had been duly relieved, and appointed a new governor, William Keith, to carry on an obstinate defence. Edward retorted by hanging Seton's son, one of the hostages ; and the Scots, to save the lives of the rest, then made a fresh convention ; which, to prevent misunderstanding, was reduced to writing (15th July).¹ Edward granted a truce till daybreak on the 20th July, with a safe-conduct in the meantime for Keith, to allow him to communicate with his countrymen in the field : the town to be yielded at daybreak on the 20th July if not effectually relieved by sunset on the 19th July. An ' effectual ' relief was defined as being the entry of a body of not less than 200 soldiers into Berwick, by land and not by sea.² At the report of this convention the Scottish army evacuated Northumberland and made for Berwick.³ Crossing the Tweed, most likely at Coldstream, they encamped on the night of the 18th July within the park at Dunse,⁴ some fifteen miles from Berwick. Next day, about noon,⁵ they appeared on a little eminence on the North side of Berwick known as Halidon Hill.⁶ The English, ready prepared for their coming, confronted them on the slopes of another little hill. Edward had disposed of his forces in such fashion as to command all access to Berwick from without, while a force was told off to guard against a possible sally from within the place, that might take him in the rear. Of the English array we have valuable notes.

¹ Bridlington, 112, 113, the best account ; see also Scalacr. Lanercost, and Fordun, sup., and Foed. ² Foed. II. 864 ; Rot. Scot. I. 253.

³ Keith found them at Morpeth ; Bridlington.

⁴ Scotichr. II. 310 ; A. Wyntoun, II. 168. Sunnyside, near Dunse, is also mentioned.

⁵ " circa horam diei nonam ; " Bridlington, 115. " Hora nona, pelago pleno ; " Higden, VIII. 328.

⁶ The Bridlington writer, who gives by far the best account, says that the Scots ascended ' monticulum Halyndounhill vocatum ' ; p. 115. So too, apparently, Baker, 51 ; Scotichr. 311 ; and Wyntoun. Higden places them at " Bothulle juxta Halidoun " ; and Avesbury at " Huntenemoor ", 298. " Halydoun is the south end of a ridge of small hills which extend northward about three miles and terminate in Ross Point ; " D. Macpherson, note to Wyntoun.

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1333

The army was arranged in triple formation as usual; but we also hear that each corps had wings, with archers again flanking the wings. Profiting by the lessons learned from the Scots,¹ and already illustrated at Dupplin, the men-at-arms dismounted to fight on foot.² The right wing next to the sea was commanded by Norfolk the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Cornwall the King's brother, Henry of Beaumont, and Edward Bohun representing his brother Henry, the Constable, who was infirm. The Earl of Atholl had charge of the right wing of this corps, and Umfraville of Angus that of the left wing; Edward himself commanded the centre and Edward Balliol the left divisions, both being marshalled with wings and archers like the right division.³ These arrangements might be attributed to Montagu, who had the military command at the siege, and might be regarded as Chief of the Staff. The Scots likewise were arranged in three bodies, doubtless in their usual "schiltrum" formation, their horses being picketed in a wood at the back of the hill; while a chosen body of 200 men-at-arms was charged with the desperate duty of endeavouring at whatever cost to cut their way into Berwick. Under the convention if with the loss of only ten of their number they should get into Berwick that would count as an 'effectual relief'. A list of the names of the chief Scotsmen in the action, preserved by an English writer,⁴ assigns 300 men-at-arms with perhaps 2,200 foot-soldiers to each of the Scottish divisions, say 7,000 or 8,000 men in all; but chroniclers' numbers must always be taken with reservation.

To get at the English in their position on their height the Scots would have not only to abandon their own defensive position at Halidon, but also to cross a line of swampy hollows between them and the English.⁵ To

¹ So expressly Baker, *sup.*

² *Id.*

³ Bridlington, 214. John of Eltham was created Earl of Cornwall October 1328; above, p. 203.

⁴ Knighton, 2564. The Continuator of Hemingburgh copies some of the names. The figures as to the numbers of the soldiers are very confused.

⁵ Scotichr. II. 311; Wyntoun, II. 169; "loco ab incolis Hevyside nuncupato," Bridlington, 116.

attack such an enemy in such a position was an act of the wildest temerity. But when was Scottish pugnacity ever deterred by any consideration of odds or disadvantages? Their leaders faced the risk without apparent hesitation. Vesper-time was drawing near, and Berwick must be relieved before nightfall. Gallantly they plunged down-hill into the swampy bottom, and there they stuck, overwhelmed by the showers of arrows poured on them "as thick as motes on the sonne beam".¹ The Scottish right made a vigorous attack on Balliol on the English left, but were defeated before the other divisions could get into action, and all three were shortly "clubbed" and rolled into one helpless mass. The devoted Two Hundred 'fought like lions' but utterly failed to cut their way through the English right. When the Scots began to give way the English mounted their horses, and pursued them wildly till nightfall.² The slaughter was terrible, especially among the gentry. Archibald Douglas the Regent was taken prisoner mortally wounded. On the field lay the six Earls Hugh of Ross, Kenneth of Sutherland, Murdoch Stewart of Menteith, Malcolm of Lennox, John Campbell the anti-Earl of Atholl, and Alexander Bruce of Carrick, natural son of Edward Bruce.³ Besides these, 72 barons and knights, 500 horsemen in all, were said to have fallen.⁴ Between Dupplin and Halidon the national party seemed to have been pretty well wiped out. 'With none left to lead or govern the Scottish wars must surely now have come to an end.' So men said in England.⁵ This signal victory was gained at a price inconceivably small. The loss admitted was one knight, one esquire, and twelve archers.⁶

As a matter of course the town and castle of Berwick

¹ Harleian MS., cited Fraser Tytler.

² See Bridlington, 116; and the other authorities already cited.

³ See Lord Hailes and Complete Peerage.

⁴ Bridlington, sup. For names see Knighton, sup. and Barnes, Edward III,

79. ⁵ Murimuth, 68.

⁶ Higden, sup. "Absque laesione magna gentis nostrae," is the King's description of his loss; Foed. II. 866.

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1333

were delivered on the morrow. The terms of the convention were honourably observed. Life and limb and property were guaranteed to all within the walls. Those who were disposed to remain as the subjects of the King of England were at once admitted to the 'peace'; those who were not willing were given forty days to dispose of their possessions and depart.¹ From this time Berwick with occasional changes of hands became substantially part of England, but with the organization of a petty kingdom. The old heading of our statutes enacted for England Scotland and Berwick-upon-Tweed "preserves the memory of its peculiar position".² The only other permanent acquisition of the war was the Isle of Man, and that Edward at once made over to Montagu.³

The Earl of March promptly made his peace with Edward, and the King without demur allowed him to re-fortify his castle, another weak concession.⁴

The victory of Halidon Hill may fairly be compared with that of Dunbar; but we fail to trace in the Third Edward the energy and moral purpose of his great ancestor. Ten days after the battle the King turned southwards in pursuit of his favourite feats of the tilt-yard,⁵ the task of subjugating and reorganizing Scotland being left to Balliol. At the same time we must remember that Edward was evidently not aiming at anything beyond the cessions promised by the Roxburgh convention, if convention it can be called; and that it was Balliol's business to win and make over these territories. He swept through the Lowlands without encountering an enemy.⁶ The young King and Queen had found a temporary refuge on the rock of Dumbarton. That fastness with the scattered castles of Loch Leven, Kildrummy, Urquhart, and the Peel of Loch Down on the

Scotland
prostrate.

¹ See Foed. II. 865, 867; Fordun, 337. Native men of religion, however, were required to leave; Rot. Scot. I. 258; Lanercost.

² Green, Short Hist. 209.

³ Foed. 868; Hill Burton, III. 12.

⁴ Lanercost and Scalacr. sup.; Foed. 867.

⁵ "Faits d'armes de pece." So the Scalacr. 163, with an evident touch of contempt for mimic war.

⁶ Scalacr. sup.; Knighton, 2565; Scotichr. sup.

borders of Carrick, were the only places still flying the national flag.¹ Possibly they were the only fortresses that had escaped dismantling.

In the latter part of September Balliol held a Parliament of his supporters at Perth. With questionable policy he reversed all the acts and grants of the rival dynasty.² Five months later (February 1334) Balliol held another Parliament, namely in Holyrood Chapel, and by the 'counsel and assent' of the bishops, earls, barons, and other 'men' of Scotland there assembled, sealed a formal ratification of the obligations undertaken at Roxburgh. Seven Scottish bishops were present; the *Querellours* were represented by Henry of Beaumont Earl of Buchan, David of Strathbogie Earl of Atholl, and Henry Talbot lord of Mar. Dunbar and Keith did duty for the indigenous laity.³

The prospects of the national party seemed so bad that even the Rock of Dumbarton was no longer deemed a safe retreat for the young King and Queen. Philip sent £1,000 for their journey: sailing from the Clyde about the beginning of May they reached France by the middle of the month. Philip gave them a handsome reception and established them at Château Gaillard on the Seine, the proud stronghold of Richard Cœur de Lion.⁴

The cession of Berwick was only taken as a grant "on account" of the full measure of 2,000 *liverées* or librates of land promised at Roxburgh. Satisfaction for the balance due was arranged by the two Kings at Newcastle in the month of June. Without the intervention of any Scottish Parliament, Balliol of his own mere authority made over to the King of England the eight counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, the three Lothians, Peebles and Dumfries,

Territorial
cessions.

¹ Scotichr. Wyntoun, II. 172; Hailes.

² Lanercost, 276; Murimuth, 71. On the 1st October Edward appointed Henry Percy and Ralph Neville to attend the Scots Parliament which had already been summoned; Foed. II. 870.

³ 10-12 February; see the notarial record, Foed. 876. For estates granted to Englishmen see Rot. Scot. I. 282; Tytler, II. 32. Edward insisted on the grant of Strathearn to the Earl Warenne; Foed. 878.

⁴ Excheq. Rolls, Scotland, I. 449, 464, 467; Lanercost, 278; De Nangis, Cont. sup.

with all their towers and castles, rights and appurtenances, in absolute dominion, freed and discharged from all subjection to the Scottish crown.¹ For the rest of his dismembered kingdom Balliol did due homage.² English sheriffs were named by Edward to rule the ceded districts—as a concession perhaps to Scottish nationality a Scotsman conversant with business, Robert Lauder, was named Justiciar of Lothian: he was instructed to do all things in accordance with the laws and customs of Scotland.³ These arrangements concluded Edward returned to the South. On the 27th July he signs at Windsor.⁴

But again Scotland had risen in 'chaotic' strife, dissensions in the Balliol party having given the opportunity. Kings and Kingmakers seldom agree, and Balliol and the *Querellours* were not long of falling out. A petty squabble over a division of the spoils led to a serious split in the party. One Mowbray had died, leaving daughters, but no male issue.⁵ His brother Alexander laid claim to the estates as heir male, and Balliol accepted him. But Beaumont, Atholl and Talbot objected, and when their objections were overruled, broke into open revolt.⁶ But the national party were already up in arms. Robert Stewart, Andrew Murray, and William Douglas—the last two just ransomed out of English dungeons—had renewed the struggle, attacking the men of Galloway and other southern adherents of the House of Balliol.⁷ Balliol, sensible of his mistake, recalled his decision in favour of

¹ 12 June; Foed. II. 888; cf. Lanercost, 277. On the 18th June Edward re-granted to Balliol his family estates in Dumfriesshire.

² 19 June; Lanercost, sup. and Mon. Malm. 18 June; Heming. Cont. II. 309.

³ Foed. 889, 890.

⁴ Rot. Scot. I. 276. Edward left Newcastle on the 20th or 21st June; Ib. 275. Between the 21st February and the 2nd March Edward had held a Parliament at York in which the newly established staples for leather and wool were abolished; Lords' Report; Rot. Parl. II. 376; Foed. 879.

⁵ "Probably it was John Mowbray who was slain in Annandale in December 1332;" see Hailes and Fordun, I. 356. This John Mowbray must be distinguished from the great English baron John Mowbray of Gower. His name still appears in the Parliamentary Writs.

⁶ Perth, late in August; Fordun, 357; Scalacr. 164; Lanercost, 278; 24 August, Bridlington, 119.

⁷ Circa 22nd July; Lanercost, sup.

Alexander Mowbray; and, as an immediate consequence, drove him and his brother Geoffrey, the English sheriff of Roxburgh, into the arms of the Bruce party.¹ John Randolph Earl of Moray, who had been on a mission to France, returned with promises of speedy succour;² Atholl, driven into a corner, made his peace with the Scots.³ By Michaelmas Balliol was again driven clean out of Scotland, and a new Regency was established in the joint hands of the Earl of Moray and Robert Stewart, the heir to the crown.

Intelligence of the new rising had reached Edward at Windsor on the 3rd August.⁴ To provide immediate succour for the English party in Scotland all 'robbers felons and homicides' who had received pardons on condition of serving at the siege of Berwick were immediately ordered to rejoin the colours at Newcastle by the 6th October.⁵ Edward, though inclined to take things easily when fortune smiled upon him, was not usually backward in the hour of danger. A Parliament, the second of the year, had already been summoned to Westminster for the 19th September. The King made a request for money, and the lieges did not withhold it. The counties gave a Fifteenth, the boroughs a Tenth; the clergy in their assemblies likewise agreed to grants of Tenths.⁶

In the first week of October Edward left London. On the 1st of November he was at Newcastle. Levies of archers and hobelers had been demanded, and the military tenants had been called out. But even Edward I had found it next to impossible to enforce attendance in a winter campaign; the levies came to nothing; the barons did not appear.⁷ An early winter offered a final bar to

¹ So Hailes; Fordun, I. 357; Scotichr. II. 312; cf. Foed. II. 902. Geoffrey Mowbray was married to Isabella, Countess of Mar.

² Fordun and Lanercost, sup. Ships of war laden with men and supplies appeared off the Scottish coast in September; Rot. Scot. I. 279.

³ 27 September; Fordun, 358. ⁴ Rot. Scot. 276; cf. 299. ⁵ Foed. 892.

⁶ Foed. 897; Wilkins, Conc. II. 576, 578; Rot. Parl. II. 447. The session lasted September 19-23; Lords' Report, I. 492.

⁷ See Rot. Scot. I. 279-293, and Lords' Report, Appendix IV, 431. Fresh writs were issued to 57 barons. 100 hobelers, and as many archers were sent by London; Riley, Memorials, 187.

campaigning. The result was that Edward, after spending most of November at Newcastle, spent the whole of December and January at Roxburgh, begging for support;¹ in the second week of February (1335), dropping the campaign, he went back somewhat hurriedly to the South.²

Opinions were divided as to the cause of the King's return. Some thought that it was due to disturbances caused by a revival of the rumours that the Second Edward was not dead but alive;³ a more likely reason for a call to London would be found in the presence of French envoys, commissioned to press for a truce with the Scots.⁴ That Philip would give the Scots as much underhand support as he could was hardly open to doubt; and in fact he had been subsidizing David before he took refuge in France. But Edward had been doing his best to disarm him by — studied diplomatic friendliness. Embassy after embassy had been named in the previous year to discuss questions, some of them going back to the days of Simon of Montfort. At one time a joint Crusade is talked of, as a matter on which the French King's heart was bent, and for which he was making great preparations; at another time a personal interview is solicited. Efforts are made to patch up some matrimonial alliance; blank powers are given to marry John Earl of Kent to any French lady of position, no matter whom; the King's own brother John is offered first to a daughter of Blois, then to Mary of Coucy.⁵ To please the French envoys Edward allowed them to confer with delegates from Scotland; beyond that he would grant nothing, except a truce to last from Easter to Midsummer.⁶

¹ See Lanercost, 278, 279; Heming. Cont. II. 310; Scalacr. 164; Knighton, 2565; Foed. II. and Rot. Scot. For the severity of the winter see Bridlington, 120. Whitby Church was blown down. ² Rot. Scot.

³ Cf. Lanercost, 279, and Foed. 904. He was alleged to be at Melazzo in 1333; above, p. 171. ⁴ Foed. 900; Knighton, 2565.

⁵ April–September 1334; Foed. 880–895. John Earl of Kent was about three years old; younger brother of Edmund who died the year before; Complete Peerage.

⁶ Foed. 904; Murimuth, 75.

Preparations for a more effectual campaign were pressed on without intermission ; the military tenants were ordered to be at Newcastle by the 11th June ; supplies of men and money were requisitioned from Ireland.¹ A grant of hobelers and archers was obtained from the counties in Parliament, with an arrangement for substituting money payments for personal service.²

In the first week of July Edward mustered his forces on the Border ; his brother-in-law the Count of Guelders was present, with a body of German mercenaries.³ The King divided his forces, himself marching up Annandale with one army, while Balliol was sent along the East coast, where the fleet was co-operating. Both armies destroyed everything they could find to destroy, the Welshmen paying no respect even to church property. Crossing the Forth the English reunited their forces at Perth.⁴

The cause of the House of Bruce again for the time seemed desperate. Even their momentary successes seemed to entail eventual loss. Guy Count of Namur, marching from Berwick to join the King of England, was surrounded at Edinburgh⁵ and forced to surrender (30 July). His captor the Regent Moray, anxious to cultivate relations with Flanders, dismissed him without ransom ; and for greater courtesy escorted him in person to the Border. On his way back Moray was taken prisoner by William Prestfen, the governor of Jedburgh Castle.⁶

¹ Rot. Scot. I. 328, &c. ; Lords' Report, Appendix, I. 442 ; Foed. II. 905.

² Ib. 911. The Parliament sat at York from the 26th May to the 3rd June ; Lords' Report ; for the statutes passed, 9 Edw. III, 1 and 2, see Statutes, I. 269 ; the first granted (*inter alia*) unrestricted right of trading to all foreign merchants ; the other was a currency Act.

³ Lanercost, 281 ; Knighton, 2566 ; Scalacr. 165 ; Foed. 912.

⁴ Fordun, Scalacr., and Lanercost, sup. The English fleet burnt part of Dundee and carried off the bell of the Friars Minors ; the trophy was purchased by the Carlisle Dominicans, a great grief to the Lanercost writer, who was a Minorite.

⁵ The castle was still in a dismantled state. Namur endeavoured to stop the breaches with bodies of dead horses. See Scotichronicon for traditional details of the affair ; II. 319.

⁶ Bridlington, 123 ; Scotichr. sup. ; Issue Rolls, Devon, 145 ; Foed. 914, 917, 918. Namur took ship again at Berwick, and escorted Queen Philippa to Perth to join the King there ; Scalacr. 165.

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1335

This was a serious blow to the national party, already weak enough in point of leaders; the Earl of Atholl had been as successful in sowing discord among the followers of Bruce as among the followers of Balliol. He had disturbed the proceedings at a Scottish Parliament held in the spring; yet had managed to gain the confidence of the Stewart, a foolish boy of twenty; he himself being a man of the ripe age of twenty-four years.¹ At his instigation Stewart commissioned the Mowbrays to negotiate a treaty of peace with Edward and Balliol. The two Kings agreed to respect the 'franchises' of the Scottish Church, and the 'usages and customs' of the people of Scotland; they also agreed to extend a full pardon to all Scotsmen who should accept the treaty, 'except such as should be excepted by common assent'.² This pacification proved a mere dead letter. The Scots, regarding the conduct of the Stewart as tantamount to an abdication of his functions, again placed themselves in the hands of Andrew Murray of Bothwell.³ On the other side Atholl's services were rewarded by the restitution of his English estates and the grant of the Lieutenancy of Scotland North of the Forth.⁴

The King
in the
North.

Leaving Perth in the first week of September Edward divided the next eight weeks between Edinburgh and Berwick. Sensible that there was yet plenty of work in Scotland to be done, he took up his quarters for the winter at Newcastle (November).⁵ The attempt to establish friendly relations with France had failed. Philip and the new Pope Benedict XII⁶ kept pressing Edward to grant a truce to the Scots; their instances were backed up by

¹ Fordun, 358; Scotichr. II. 259 and note.

² See the treaty in French, Perth, 18th August; Avesbury, 298; Knighton, 2566.

³ Murray was appointed Regent at Dumbarton on the 21st September; Fordun, 359.

⁴ Heming. Cont. II. 311; Fordun, sup.; Scalacr. 166; Foed. II. 920.

⁵ See Rot. Scot. and Foed.

⁶ John XXII died 4th December 1334; on the 20th December the cardinals elected the Cistercian abbot Jacques Fournier, "to his own surprise and to that of all Christendom." He took the name of Benedict XII and proved an honest man, shrewd and anxious to reform abuses, but deficient in political courage; he resigned himself to the French yoke; Milman; H. Nicolas.

piratical attacks on the South coast.¹ Yielding to this double pressure Edward gave in to a truce, granted in the first instance only till Michaelmas, but eventually carried on, by successive prolongations, to the 5th May 1336.²

But in such warfare truces count for little. David of Strathbogie in his anxiety to distinguish himself in his new post had succeeded in imparting something of an agrarian character to a war already sufficiently bitter. By way of tearing up the Bruce party by the roots he waged a war of wholesale eviction and imprisonment against the small freeholders and lesser gentry,³ the backbone of the national party. He also laid siege to Kildrummy Castle in Aberdeenshire, held by the Lady Christian Bruce, wife of the Regent Murray.⁴ The evicted Highlanders found allies and avengers in the South. Bothwell hastened to succour his wife; Douglas and the Earl of March, who had already changed sides,⁵ it was said with the connivance of Montagu, Edward's representative in Lothian, joined him in raising an army. Atholl, dropping the siege of Kildrummy, hastened to meet them, and was defeated and killed in the forest of Culblean in Braemar.⁶ Murray kept the field all the winter laying siege to Cupar in Fife and Lochindorb (Inverness-shire).⁷

Action at
Culblean.

Some changes in the ecclesiastical world of recent occurrence may here be noticed. A new Pope had been enthroned as already mentioned: then on the 24th September 1333 Louis of Beaumont the courtly Bishop of Durham died.⁸ The chapter, regardless of Royal hints, elected their Sub-prior Robert of Greystanes, the Durham historian.

¹ Foed. II. 919; Lanercost, 283.

² 29 October; Rot. Scot. I. 385.

³ "Omnes libere tenentes delere de terra finaliter ordinavit;" Fordun, 359; Scotichr. II. 320.

⁴ Wyntoun, II. 196.

⁵ Dunbar turned Scotch again at the end of 1334. He had been plundered by Northumbrian brigands on his return from Newcastle in the previous November; having failed to obtain satisfaction from the King he renounced his homage; Heming. Cont. II. 310; Scalacr.

⁶ 30th November, 1335; Fordun and Scotichr. sup. Bridlington gives the day as the 29th November.

⁷ See Foed. 933.

⁸ Reg. Sacr.

CHAP. XIV

1333

Stratford
Arch-
bishop.Orleton
Bishop of
Winches-
ter.

Greystanes then presented himself at court to ask for the Royal assent to his election. Edward received him kindly, but told him that the Pope had already made an appointment in favour of Richard Aungerville of Bury, the King's old tutor.¹ Nothing daunted Robert turned to his metropolitan William Melton, and actually obtained confirmation and consecration from him (York, 10 and 14 November). The rival Bishop Richard then made his appearance, armed with Papal Bull and Royal warrant, and, of course, had to be consecrated, installed, and enthroned; and poor Greystanes went back to his cloister 'a bishop without a bishopric'.² On the 12th October 1333 Archbishop Mepeham died, a man "in all things respectable, in nothing great". But his position required something more than "respectable mediocrity". Suffragans and chapters worried him to death.³ The Canterbury Chapter, 'making a virtue of necessity,' postulated John Stratford of Winchester (3rd November);⁴ the King wrote to Avignon for confirmation, but the Pope had already issued a 'Provision' in Stratford's favour (1 December), and in virtue of that mandate he was translated and enthroned.⁵ On the same day on which he promoted Stratford to the Primacy, John translated Adam Orleton from Worcester to Winchester. This kind act was done, not to please the King of England, but to please the King of France, who had written to Avignon on behalf of Orleton. Orleton as ambassador in Paris had again found opportunities for advancing his own interests. Edward was naturally indignant to find the patronage of the English church played against him as trump cards

¹ See the Bull dated Avignon 14th October; Northern Registers, 369.

² See Greystanes' account, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 762; and Melton's account, Northern Registers, sup.; also Lanercost, 276, and Murimuth, 71. Proceedings against Melton were taken by the King, but were not carried far; *Foed.* II. 882; Murimuth.

³ Birchington, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 18; Hook, III. 315.

⁴ See Birchington, sup., 19; *Foed.* 873; Murimuth, 69.

⁵ See Wilkins, *Conc.* II. 564, &c. Stratford was not enthroned till the 9th October 1334. He kept the Great Seal till the 28th September preceding, when it was given to Aungerville of Bury, the newly appointed Bishop of Durham; but he only held it till the 6th June 1335, when it was again entrusted to Stratford. See *Ann. Paul.* 362; *Angl. Sacr.* 320; Foss, III. 321, 322.

by his rival the King of France. He refused to admit Orleton to his temporalities; he preferred an 'appeal' against him at the court of Avignon for his share in the dethronement of the late King (April 1334).

In answer to the charges thus brought against him Orleton published his well-known *Apologia*. The Pope declined to recall his mandate. The matter, apparently, was brought up in the September Parliament. Stratford and the bishops rallied round their brother. Edward was anxious to obtain a vote of money for his operations in Scotland, and so abandoned his proceedings against Orleton, and admitted him to his new See.¹ Adam on the other hand deemed it prudent to retire from politics and to content himself with the affairs of his well-endowed See.

¹ Angl. Sacr. I. 317, 533; Murimuth, 70; Baker, 54.

CHAPTER XV

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1336-1339

Parliaments.—The war with Scotland.—Breach with France.—Robert of Artois.
—The French Crown claimed.—Sack of Cadsand.—Jacques van Artevelde.—
Visit of the King to the Low Countries.—Treaty with the Emperor Ludwig.

CHAP. XV
1336
Parlia-
ment.

THE spring Parliament of the year 1336 was held at Westminster, opening on the 11th March. As it was clear that the war with Scotland had to be carried on, supplies were voted ungrudgingly. The counties gave a Fifteenth, the boroughs a Tenth; the clergy of the Southern Province likewise gave a Tenth, and apparently made the grant in Parliament,¹ an unusual circumstance. The York clergy voted their Tenth later in the year.²

In May the truce was allowed to expire, and all England was again set in motion towards the North. In fact the stream of preparation had never failed. Writ followed upon writ as fast as they could be sealed. Henry of Lancaster, the son of the Earl, was sent on to take the command at Perth, with a string of young magnates to help him; while further levies were ordered to be at Newcastle by Midsummer.³

Edward
at Perth.

About the 1st July the King suddenly appeared at Perth, having ridden from Berwick in two days, with an escort of not more than five-score men-at-arms. Unfounded reports of the gathering of a Scottish army on the Tay had reached him.⁴ All was quiet in the parts of Perth; but as he had gone so far Edward resolved to go a little farther, and crush the hostile movement in the Highlands;

¹ March 11-20; Lords' Report, Appendix; Murimuth, 77; Wake, 285; Wilkins, Conc. II. 581; Statutes, I. 276.

² Wilkins, 584; 6 May.

³ April; Foed. II. 936, &c.; Rot. Scot. I. 417-428.

⁴ So Scalacr. 166.

accordingly he started on a tour of devastation, like those undertaken by his grandfather. Leaving Perth on the 12th July he slept next night in Blair Castle; from thence he crossed the Atholl hills, evidently along the line of the present road and railway, to a place in Badenoch given as "Tythawyn". Next day (15 July) hearing of a Scottish army at Kincardine on the Spey Edward forced a march of twenty miles without slacking rein. But Andrew Murray, mindful of the teaching of Robert Bruce, had betaken him to the forests and the mosses. The King, however, pushing on a little farther raised the siege of Lochindorb, an island fort near Dava, in which the widowed Countess of Atholl¹ was beleaguered. A short day across country brought the force to Braemar, and a long day after that took them to Forres and Kinloss, the King's turning-point (17 July); practically the turning-point of his grandfather, and apparently that of Septimius Severus also. Both Kinloss and Forres were destroyed; Elgin was spared, out of regard for the church, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but all the surrounding country was devastated, the unripe crops being trodden underfoot by the horses.² Marching past Cullen, and apparently up Strathbogie, Edward reached Aberdeen on the 21st July. The Aberdonians had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious by slaughtering the crews of English shipping in the harbour laden with supplies for the King. To punish them he staid three days at Aberdeen to satisfy himself 'by personal inspection' that not a single house there or in Old Aberdeen had been spared. We are told that the buildings were among the best and most substantial in Scotland. On the 26th July the King rested at Forfar; and there our diarist brings his narrative to a close. He tells us that the King's force consisted of 400 men-at-arms, and as many hobelers and archers.³ Edward apparently remained in Angus and

Through
the High-
lands.

¹ Catherine of Beaumont, daughter of Henry the claimant of the earldom of Buchan.

² Lanercost.

³ See the diary, Ellis, Letters, 3rd Series, I. 35, dated York, 3 August, being a copy of a report sent to the Queen the day before. A hobeler, French *hobelier*, was a man mounted on a *hobin* or ambling pony; Stratman; Godefroy.

CHAP. XV
 1336
 Fortifica-
 tion.

the Mearns for a whole month, superintending the building or repairing of fortifications at Dunottar, Kinneff and Lauriston. Similar works were also being carried on at Leuchars and St. Andrews in Fife, and of course at Perth. Edinburgh, Stirling and Roxburgh had already been refortified.¹ On the 24th August Edward is again found at Perth.²

Parlia-
 ment.

From Perth Edward hurried back to Nottingham, to hold another Parliament, and lay before the Houses the unsatisfactory issue of conferences with French envoys just held at Perth, under his own eye. The King's agents, Bishops Bury and Orleton, had been directed to open the negotiations by discussing the question of the joint Crusade, which was still in the air, and by suggesting a personal interview between the two Kings. They would then open the more delicate questions of the non-restitution of the Agenais, and the support given to the Scots; the French would also be invited to give their views as to certain friendly offers made by Edward to King David.³ He had been invited to settle in England on the ancestral estates, the suggestion apparently being that the Scots should accept Balliol as tenant for life in possession of the Crown, the reversion being settled on David, if Balliol should die without issue.⁴ But Philip was not prepared either to restore the Agenais, or to abandon the Scots; neither was David prepared to abdicate.

False
 charges.

But Edward did not wait for the meeting of Parliament to tell his story. In the writs of summons, issued on the 24th August, he informed the lieges of the proposals laid before the French envoys, and of their rejection by them. From that he went on boldly to accuse Philip of raising

¹ Fordun, 361; Scotichr. II. 323; Knighton. The systematic manner in which all fortifications had been destroyed by the Scots should be noted by archaeologists and persons ascribing to Scottish castles dates anterior to these wars.

² Delpit, Documents Français, 66.

³ See the instructions dated Perth, 6 July; Foed. II. 940, 941. The King announced the failure of the negotiations on the 24th August.

⁴ Id. 930, 935, 938; Knighton, 2568.

armaments in various parts of Europe for the invasion of England; a gross calumny, as Edward must have well known, as the armaments in question were undoubtedly being raised for the Crusade, which had just received formal Papal sanction. During the previous Lent Philip had held lengthy interviews with Benedict at Avignon, and on Good Friday the Pope in person had preached the Crusade.¹ From Avignon Philip had gone to Marseilles, to inspect his shipping getting ready to sail to the Levant. Needless to add that by the end of the year the whole scheme had been quashed in consequence of the attitude of the King of England. Nothing could be farther from Philip's intentions than any direct attack on England; but, no doubt, he was endeavouring to form alliances to guard against a possible renewal of Edward's pretensions, from which he could never feel safe. Thus, no doubt, he was doing his best to detach Count Louis of Flanders from the old ties with England. Edward had had to complain of ill-treatment of English merchants in Flanders,² and he had been inviting Flemish weavers to settle in England.³ This measure has been usually regarded as prompted by the wish to develop native industry; but it should rather be considered a threat to Flemish interests. If the English wool could be worked up at home, the Flemish looms would be reduced to idleness. The same purpose of putting pressure on the Flemings is shown by an ordinance of the 3rd December transferring the wool-staple, previously established in Flanders, to Brabant.⁴

In short, the relations of France and England, seldom very cordial, were not in the autumn of 1336 in any particular state of crisis. Edward's allegations must have come upon the nation as a bolt out of the blue. But with his story before them the lieges could not help coming to Nottingham prepared to make considerable sacrifices. The laity agreed to the grant of a second Fifteenth and Tenth within the year, the clergy likewise doubling their

Unprecedented subsidies.

¹ Lavissee, IV. 12.

² Id. 823; A.D. 1331; so again in 1337; id. 969.

³ Foed. II. 948.

⁴ Foed.

CHAP. XV

1336

contributions, concessions altogether without precedent.¹ Further it would seem that sanction was obtained, apparently, not from Parliament, but from a delegation of merchants, to a war-tax on wool of 40s. the sack from natives and 60s. from foreigners,² but only to be levied for a year and a half. Merchants had been summoned to attend a Grand Council at Nottingham at Midsummer. On the 12th August all exportation of wool was forbidden. This strong step may have been taken in order to drive the merchants to the point of the desired concession.³ With regard to the treating with merchants it will be remembered that the *Carta Mercatoria*, under which the *Nova Custuma* was originally levied, was merely based on a private agreement between the King and a body of merchants. To counteract the depressing effect of the new war-taxes a scale of minimum prices of wool for the different counties was published,⁴ a futile measure of course.

As Edward defrayed all Balliol's expenditure as well as his own the charges on him no doubt were very great. The Pell Issue Roll for the half-year ending at Michaelmas (Easter 10 Edw. III) shows an expenditure exceeding £73,762.

The King's
finance.

In this state of need the King was plunging into that reckless course of borrowing for which the reign is notorious. On the 12th July, when at Perth, he sealed patents authorizing agents to contract loans up to a total of £200,000.⁵ The moiety of the clerical Tenths specially reserved for the Papal *Curia* had no sanctity in his eyes: he laid hands on it all.⁶

¹ September 23-26; 3rd D. K. Report, Appendix II. 147; Stubbs; Lanercost, 289; Wilkins, Conc. II. 584. The Canterbury clergy made their grant in convocation at Leicester, 30th September; the Northern clergy made theirs in Parliament at Nottingham; Wake, 285.

² Knighton and Scalacr., sup. The latter says that the duties were granted for a time, but kept on afterwards. The Parliament Rolls do not notice them; and in 1339 it was asserted in Parliament that no consent of Lords or Commons had been given; Rot. Parl. II. 104.

³ Lords' Report, Appendix, 458; Foed. II. 493.

⁴ Rot. Parl. II. 120; cf. 138. A Sumptuary Act was also passed restricting all persons of whatsoever state or condition to two courses of two dishes each at all meals; Statutes, I. 278.

⁵ Foed. 942.

⁶ Bridlington, 128; Murimuth, 78.

Meanwhile the war-scare so cleverly started by Edward was being assiduously fanned.¹ The sea-ports are fortified ; fleets equipped ; signal beacons are set up on every down ; the entire male population is ordered to be in readiness.² To do Edward justice he certainly gave no rest either to himself or his enemies. The operations against the Scots were steadily pressed. At the beginning of August his brother John of Eltham Earl of Cornwall was sent with levies raised in the Northern counties to ravage Carrick, and the South-west of Scotland. The exertions of the campaign brought on a fever, of which the Earl died at Perth in October, unmarried and in his twentieth year.³ Early in November the King himself returned to the charge, having been assured that nothing short of continuous operations would keep down the Scots. He spent six weeks in Scotland, superintending the erection of "peels" at Bothwell and Stirling. For Christmas he went back to Doncaster ; Balliol was left at Perth, with a very humble retinue.⁴

But faster than the King could build the Scots could pull down. The Kincardineshire forts were demolished before the mortar had time to dry (October 1336). To push on this work the Regent Murray kept in the neighbourhood all winter, although the districts of Mearns, Angus and Gowry had been reduced to 'an almost hopeless wilderness'.⁵ Early in 1337 he retook and destroyed Kinclaven on the Tay. Entering Fife in February, by the end of the month he had levelled the new forts at Falkland, Leuchars and St. Andrews. His own castle at Bothwell was recovered in March. These achievements were largely due, we are told, to the action of a new and formidable engine known as "*Le Boustour*" (Fr. *bouteur*, butter?), probably a mighty

Scottish
tactics.

¹ See the letter from some one in the court circle evidently echoing the approved note of panic ; Ellis, Letters, 3rd Series, I. 30.

² Rot. Scot. I. 402-407, 420-428 ; Foed. II. 940, &c.

³ Fordun, Lanercost, and Ellis, sup. For the date Murimuth, sup., and Heming. Cont. II. 312. John's tomb, with his effigy in alabaster, may be seen on the south side of the choir in Westminster Abbey.

⁴ Scalacr. 166 ; Lanercost, sup. ; Foed.

⁵ Fordun, 362.

CHAP. XV
1337

battering-ram.¹ From Bothwell Murray marched to Stirling and besieged the place (April-June). Once more Edward hastened to the rescue, and in an interval between two Councils forced the Regent to abandon his undertaking.²

It is probable that Edward in his heart had never made up his mind to drop his pretensions to the Crown of France. He had rejected the matrimonial alliances with France proposed by his mother,³ preferring a connexion with Guelders and other princes of the Netherlands, "jealous neighbours" whose support as against France might be relied on. In 1334 he was simply striving to detach Philip from his Scottish alliance, and his tone was studiously pacific. The allegations laid before the Nottingham Parliament in 1336 might almost have been taken as a declaration of war. On the Continent this sudden change was ascribed to the influence of a distinguished guest, a refugee of high birth and connexions.⁴

Robert of
Artois.

Robert of Artois Count of Beaumont was great-great-grandson of Louis VIII of France; great-grandson of Robert I Count of Artois, the brother of Saint Louis, killed at Mansourah (1260). He was the grandson and heir male of Robert II of Artois who fell at Courtrai in 1302. On coming of age in 1302 Robert demanded admission to the fief, but his claims were postponed to those of his aunt Mahault, his father's younger sister, on the strength of an alleged local custom, the fief as a matter of fact having descended in the strict male line since its creation by Louis VIII. But two of the sons of the then King of France, the redoubted Philip the Fair, namely Philip and Charles, both afterwards kings, were married to daughters of Mahault by her husband Otho IV Count of Burgundy and Franche-Comté. At the accession of Philip of Valois Robert flattered himself that his time had come. He had helped to bring Philip to the throne; had commanded the

¹ "Metu et violentia potissime cujusdam ingenii sive machinae quae vocabatur Boustour;" Scotichr. II. 324. "A gyne men callyd Boustowre;" Wyntoun, II. 214; Lanercost, 288; Scalacr. and Fordun, sup.

² June 8-20; Fordun, sup.; Lanercost, 290; Rot. Scot. I. 489; Foed.

³ Foed. II. 765, 777.

⁴ De Nangis, II. 157 (ed. Géraud).

rear-guard at Cassel, and was married to the King's sister. CHAP. XV
1328-1336
During the festivities at Amiens in June 1329, when Edward rendered homage, Robert, still full of hope, once more brought forward his claims. But the King, a weak, hasty, headstrong man, was governed by his wife,¹ who was sister to Eudes IV Duke of Burgundy, husband of Jeanne, grand-daughter and heiress of Mahault. When Robert produced witnesses and documents in support of his claims the Crown lawyers taxed his witnesses with perjury, and declared his documents forgeries. Mahault, who had come to Paris to defend her cause, died in November (1329); her daughter Jeanne, widow of Philippe le Long, and mother of the Duchess of Burgundy, passed away in January 1330. Such a coincidence was thought to leave little room for doubt. Both Mahault and Jeanne must have been poisoned by Robert. Proceedings were instituted against him. At last in 1332 Philip pronounced a final sentence of banishment and confiscation against him. He had already found safety in flight. Hunted from one Flemish court to another, he took refuge in England, where protection was given him, covertly at first, out of respect for the liege homage due to Philip, which would be infringed by harbouring an enemy of the suzerain.² In October 1336 we find Robert at Court, and the King arranging for a loan of 500 marks to enable him to accompany the King on his expedition to Scotland.³ Courtly, versatile and distinguished, he was the very man to take the fancy of Edward III. Eventually, when all disguise had been thrown away, a pension of 1,200 marks (£900) a year and other honours were conferred upon him.⁴

¹ "La Reine mâle."

² See Le Bel, I. 93, 103; Sismondi, France, X. 39; Martin, V. 15; Lavissee, IV. 6, and the authorities there cited. Robert was in Brabant in July 1332 and at Namur at Christmas 1333. He might have come to England in 1334 or 1335. See Froissart, I. 47, 49, notes Buchon.

³ Cal. Pat. Roll, 10 Edw. III, p. 322.

⁴ April 1337; Foed. II. 967, 969. For the supposed influence of Robert in urging Edward to revive his pretensions to the Crown see De Nangis, Cont. II. 187; Grandes Chroniques, V. 367, 369; and 'Vows of the Heron', a song composed by some follower of Robert in the autumn of 1340; Wright, Pol. Poems, I. 1.

CHAP. XV

1336

Parliament.

Titled honours.

Still, to the end of November 1336 the Scottish war seemed the primary affair. On the 29th of that month York had been named as the place for holding a winter Parliament; on the 14th January 1337 the King writes that in consequence of alarming news from abroad he must ask his lieges to meet him at Westminster. A few days later intercourse with the Continent is suspended.¹ But war was not yet formally declared. Edward needed time "to form his alliances and raise funds".² On the 3rd March the session was opened, and lasted till the 14th of the month.³ Consent to the continuation of the war with Scotland was obtained, and also a consent to the fitting out of an expedition for the recovery of the Agenais,⁴ practically war with France. The exportation of wool was again forbidden, and the wearing of foreign-made cloth interdicted. These measures, coupled with the renewed invitations to foreign weavers to settle in England, must be clearly regarded as intended to put pressure upon the Flemings.⁵ The rising of Parliament was immediately followed by an unprecedented distribution of titled honours, intended to attach the younger Baronage, and secure their hearty support for the King's warlike policy. The reader will compare the knighting of the future Edward II in 1306, and the great pageant of the Swans to pledge the nation to the prosecution of the war with Scotland.⁶ On the second Sunday in Lent (16 March), four and twenty new knights were dubbed, and six barons raised to earldoms. The King's especial favourite, the able and energetic Montagu, became Earl of Salisbury; Henry of Lancaster the younger received the Earldom of Derby, one of Earl Thomas's former Earldoms; Hugh of Audley became Earl of Gloucester, in right of his wife Margaret of Clare;

¹ Foed. II. 958.² Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 397.³ Lords' Report, Appendix, 470.⁴ Lanercost, 288.⁵ Statutes, I. 280; Foed. 969; Murimuth, 79. For earlier invitations to weavers see Foed. 823, 849. They were mostly settled in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; Longman.⁶ Dawn of Constitution, 509.

Clinton became Earl of Huntingdon; William Bohun¹ became Earl of Northampton; and Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk. Lastly, the Heir Apparent, already Earl of Chester, was created Duke of Cornwall—the ducal title being new to English history—while the Duchy of Cornwall and its stannaries were declared for ever annexed to the Crown.²

The lesser gentry were not overlooked. They were treated with great apparent consideration. Provincial Parliaments were convened to hear the result of the deliberations of the central Councils, and, the plan being found popular, special county courts were summoned to hear the King's intentions.³ The end of all this friendly dealing, of course, was money. But money for the moment was not forthcoming. The spring Parliament gave nothing; doubtless the Estates thought that the subsidies voted in the previous year ought to suffice. In the autumn, however, grants for a third year were obtained from clergy and laity.⁴ But the King could not wait. The old plan of direct negotiation with individuals and local bodies was revived: the leading merchants especially were again and again requested to confer with agents deputed by the King,⁵ but apparently without any very satisfactory results. The King then had recourse to a bold financial operation, if such it could be called. A scale of minimum prices for the wools of the different counties had been fixed at Nottingham in 1336.⁶

Parliament.

Supplies.

¹ Younger brother of John the Earl of Hereford, and youngest son of Humphrey III by the Lady Elisabeth, daughter of Edward I.

² Murimuth, 81; Knighton, 2568; Heming. Cont. II. 312; Foed. II. 961. The new earls received pensions in lieu of the old 'third pennies'. In February 1335 the earldom of Devon had been revived in favour of Hugh, Baron Courtenay of Okehampton, who traced descent in the female line from the old de Redvers family; Complete Peerage; Doyle.

³ Foed. 963, 979, 989, 994; Wilkins, Conc. II. 622. See also Mr. Willard, Eng. Hist. Rev. XXI. 707.

⁴ A Tenth was voted by the clergy and boroughs, a Fifteenth by the counties; the Parliament sat at Westminster 26 September–4 October; the Canterbury clergy made their grant at St. Bride's about the 1st October, the Northern clergy at York on 19 September and 12 November. See Lords' Report, Appendix; 3rd D. K. Report, Appendix II. 148; Murimuth, 80; Walsing. I. 222; Wake, 287.

⁵ See Rot. Scot. I. 474, 478; Lords' Report, Appendix III. 477; and Bp. Stubbs, sup. 398. The King met with a direct refusal from the Cinque Ports.

⁶ Lords' Report, IV. 464; Rot. Parl. II. 120.

CHAP. XV

1337

Wool
seized.

Edward requisitioned 30,000 sacks, giving tallies for payment at the Nottingham prices, which were quite inadequate. Then, addressing himself to a syndicate of merchants, he requested them first to indemnify the owners, and then to negotiate the sale of the wool on his account, allowing him to draw on them at once for £200,000. As a security for the repayment of this sum he gave them a charge on all the Customs of the realm—of course in priority to all existing charges; and, as remuneration for their trouble, a commission of half a mark the sack.¹ The King's rapacity knew no limits. The year before he had seized the Papal share of the clerical Tenth; now the estates of the Priories Alien are confiscated.²

In the matter of allies Edward, to all appearance, had a goodly show of supporters to set against Philip's alliance with the Scots. Brittany had almost always clung to England. The support of the existing Duke, John III, had been secured by the renewal of the grant of Richmond, promptly conferred on him in 1334 at the death of his uncle John.³ William II of Hainault, the newly succeeded Count of Holland, was Edward's brother-in-law;⁴ the Emperor Ludwig or Louis of Bavaria, and William of Juliers, were married to his sisters-in-law; and Reginald of Guelders to his own sister.⁵

But the hypothetical services of these family friends had to be paid for, and paid for in advance. Philip could depend on the Scots for action, effective action rendered

¹ Foed. II. 988, 989. According to Knighton, 2570, the wool mostly taken at £6 the sack could be sold in Flanders for £20 the sack. A further grievance was a general detention of shipping for the transport of the wool; Murimuth, 80; Ann. Paul. 366. The entries on the Receipt Rolls show that in some cases money was taken instead of wool, the owners preferring to compound.

² Foed. 957, 982; Murimuth, sup. The Priories were not reinstated till 1361, after the Peace of Brétigny.

³ Foed. 882, 886, 890. John the uncle had married the Lady Beatrice, daughter of Henry III; he was brother to Arthur II, the father of John III.

⁴ William I, 'the Good,' died 7 June 1337, and was succeeded by his son, William II; Foed. 984.

⁵ Ludwig or Louis of Bavaria had married as his second wife Margaret, elder sister of Queen Philippa; William VII of Guelders was married to a younger sister, Jeanne.

gratis, or for next to nothing; little subvention would be needed to keep them on the war-path. In April the Bishop of Lincoln and the newly created Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon had been sent abroad to enlist recruits. The Court of Valenciennes was made their first headquarters,¹ from whence they moved on to Frankfort and Cologne. Within a short space of time conventions were signed with Hainault, Guelders, Limberg, Juliers. The Archbishop of Cologne had already been secured; and a matrimonial alliance arranged with Austria;² but the place of honour in the confederacy was given to Brabant.³ Special leave to purchase wool was granted to the Brabanters, and a retaining fee of £60,000 was promised to their Duke, John III, Edward's cousin.⁴ 16,000 florins were promised to Reginald the Count Palatine of the Rhine. Finally, a formal treaty was signed with Louis of Bavaria, for mutual support against 'Philip styling himself King of France': 2,000 galleys were hired from the Emperor at the rate of 200 gold florins per galley, or 400,000 florins in all. By his reference to 'Philip styling himself King of France' Edward had now shown his hand. His operations extended from Brussels to Vienna, from Brandenburg to Dauphiné. Every adventurer who could bring a few men-at-arms into the field was welcome at his own price.⁵

These alliances sealed and ratified, Edward issued a manifesto to his subjects, addressed to the archbishops, bishops, earls, sheriffs, and others, and to be publicly read out in every county court in the Kingdom. Philip had rendered war inevitable by rejecting all reasonable offers, and finally had refused even to treat; he had

¹ They were there 1-12 May; Froissart, I. 58, note.

² Foed. II. 915, 929, 940.

³ Foed. 966-972. Overtures to all these princes had been made in 1335, and to some in 1332 and 1331; Foed.

⁴ Son of John II by the Lady Marguerite, fourth daughter of Edward I.

⁵ See Foed. 926, 952, 966-996; Pauli, II. 346. In the words of Le Bel Edward's agents spent money 'as if it rained down from the clouds', p. 131. The expenditure for the half-year ending at Easter 1337 rose to the enormous sum of £137,461; and that for the following half-year to £130,094; Pell Issue Rolls. For the further Wardrobe expenses see below, Financial review at end of reign.

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declared Guienne forfeit, and waged wanton war on England by sea and land. The whole story of the King's pacific efforts was detailed in a schedule. 'If any man knew of a better way, he, Edward, would be ready and glad to follow it.' On the same day the 30th September was fixed for a muster at Canterbury.¹

Papal
Interven-
tion.

Suddenly, however, Edward had to change his purpose of invading France. On the 24th September he writes to the authorities in Wales that the Welsh soldiers need not be sent.² The Pope had announced an intention of sending Cardinals to mediate; in the face of such an intimation it was impossible to draw the sword. Edward, however, did worse; he laid public claim to the style of King of France, appointing his cousin the Duke of Brabant his Vicar-General to take possession on his behalf.³

With the English established in Guienne the relations of the two countries could never be really cordial. The position of an English King owing liege homage to the King of France created 'a false situation'.⁴ A tolerable *entente* could only be maintained by the most scrupulous dealing on either side. The French had always been aggressive, perhaps not unnaturally. Edward was suffering from the mismanagement of his father, and the hard terms imposed by the treaty of 1327, on which the relations of the two countries were still based. A tithe of the money wasted on the German alliances would have enabled Edward to settle the required indemnities, and place himself in the right with Philip. By assuming the style of King of France he made the quarrel "irreconcilable". Again, as regards the support given by Philip to the Scots, Edward really had himself to blame. Had he respected the Treaty of Northampton, and left the Scots in peace, he would have had no

¹ Foed. II. 993, 995. The main charges against Philip were the detention of the Agenais and the support given to the Scots. Edward alleges that he had tendered an indemnity, which in fact by the existing treaties he was bound to do. But I would like further evidence of this alleged tender.

² Foed. 997.

³ 7 October; id. 1,000, 1,001.

⁴ So the Lavisser writer, IV. 39; he traces the false situation back to the Norman Conquest.

trouble from Philip in that quarter. Philip could show excuses for his breaches of strict neutrality. For his hair-brained ambition Edward could show none. On his shoulders must be laid the responsibility for that huge crime, the Hundred Years' War, the most unjustifiable and mischievous war that ever was waged.

At first sight for England to challenge France to a life-and-death struggle would seem madness. To conquer France of course was impossible. But the disparity for the purposes of mere warfare was not so great as might be thought. Edward had a more united kingdom at his back, and much better military and financial systems.¹ The English had learned much by their wars with Scotland. The French had had no such bracing experiences. They clung to an antiquated system of warfare that the English had discarded. The superiority of the English archer, based on the better conditions of life enjoyed by the English agricultural population, was in itself a considerable factor.

As for the view of Edward's claims and conduct taken by his own age, the times were too much accustomed to war to be disposed to find fault with any man for drawing the sword in defence of anything that he might conceive to be his right. The English writers as a whole stand loyally by their King; but Murimuth, the Canon of St. Paul's and diplomatist, after discussing the question, decides against him.² We shall find many others questioning Edward's policy.

Notwithstanding the King's respect for the Papal mission excuse was found for a high-handed act of aggression, one, however, not without parallel in the later annals of the English Navy. A last attempt had been made to coax the Count of Flanders into friendship with England, the hand of the Lady Jeanne being offered for his eldest son.³ But Louis stood by Philip, and had established a strong garrison in

¹ For a sketch of the military and financial systems of France see Lavissee, IV. 16-18.

² See pp. 100, 101.

³ Foed. II. 998; 3 October.

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Attack on
Flanders.Cardinals
in Eng-
land.More wool
'granted'.

the little island of Cadsand at the mouth of the harbour of Zwyn, below Sluys, and that for the express purpose of harassing intercourse between England and the Low Countries.¹ The Earl of Derby and Walter Manny, now Admiral of the Fleet, were sent to destroy the offensive outpost. On the 11th November they effected a landing, drove in the Flemish garrison, and finally sacked and destroyed the whole settlement. Guy, a natural brother of the Count, was taken prisoner, but Edward set him free at once.²

Shortly before Christmas the Cardinals Pedro Gomez de Barroso and Bertrand de Montfavez appeared at Westminster. Edward gave them a most ceremonious reception. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the City authorities met them at Shooter's Hill. The young Duke of Cornwall met them a mile out of town, while the King himself received them at the door of the Lesser Hall at Westminster, conducting them to the Painted Chamber. In deference to their mission he agreed to make no attack on France till after the 1st March; and in the meantime summoned Parliament for the 3rd February 1338.³ Parliament was of opinion that peace with France could not be maintained unless the Agenais were restored; and they allowed the King to repeat his financial operation of the last year, by giving him leave to take at his own price half the wool in the kingdom, estimated at 20,000 sacks.⁴ "*Quibus tamen nihil solvit.*" On the other hand he agreed to remit certain outstanding arrears of scutage, and to postpone all attacks on France till Midsummer. But, while proclaiming these arrangements, he gave orders for the immediate levy of two bodies of troops—one to be sent to Gascony for the

¹ Froissart, I. 61.

² Froissart, I. 62; Lanercost, 294; De Nangis, Cont. sup. 100. Edward, however, had to give Manny £8,000 as the value of Guy's ransom; Foed. II. 1123.

³ Murimuth, 81; Knighton, 2570; Foed. II. 1007, 1009. The cardinals staid in England till Saturday, 11 July; Murimuth, sup.; Baker, 60, 61.

⁴ Murimuth, 82; Lanercost, 294; Foed. II. 1022. That the wool was seized twice is clear from the expressions "*utraque vice*", and "*par deux aunz*"; Lanercost sup. and Chron. Lond. 71. Murimuth, 82, distinctly asserts that nobody was paid for his wool this time. The session lasted 3rd-14th February.

defence of the province, the other to accompany himself on a personal expedition to the Continent.¹

A suspension of hostilities so palpably hollow was not worth much. Philip kept up his operations in the Agenais, while the French cruisers continued their attacks on English shipping. In March Portsmouth was burnt, and the Isle of Wight ravaged; Guernsey suffered likewise. The consequence was that on the 6th May Edward recalled his promise to suspend hostilities.²

But the day on which he could take the field in earnest was still distant. In spite of the liberality of Parliament he was in difficulties; the sums sent abroad had drained the country of specie. Provision had to be made for the defence of the coasts at home, and for the prosecution of the War in Scotland.³ The King laid his hands on all the available tin in Devon and Cornwall; sold charters of freedom to the 'natives' on the Crown demesnes; and for the expenses of his passage, pressed the clergy for 'loans' of sacramental plate, jewels, reliquaries, vestments, anything that would sell.⁴ Yielding to his instances the Canterbury Convocation agreed to grant a Tenth for the third year running, besides shortening the terms of payment.⁵

Pressure
on clergy.

It must not be supposed that Edward's proceedings, and his system of subsidizing allies met with universal approbation. Salisbury, the leading baron of the time, who had been one of the negotiators of the treaties, and therefore had opportunities for judging of their worth, protested against them; he also protested against the King's proposed journey abroad; and finally went off, in declared opposition, to join in the siege of Dunbar, the Earls of Arundel and Gloucester going with him. At the siege

¹ Foed. II. 1013-1024.

² Vic et Vaissette, IV. 225; Foed. 1027, 1034, 1042; Knighton, 2570; Heming. Cont. II. 315; Grandes Chroniques, V. 369.

³ See Foed. 1025, and Rot. Scot. passim.

⁴ Foed. 1038, 1039; Knighton, 2571.

⁵ St. Bride's, 1 October; Wilkins, II. 625; Wake, 287; Murimuth, 85. The clergy, however, refused to part with their wool.

CHAP. XV they remained till they received peremptory orders to
 1338 rejoin the King.¹

In Flanders the cutting off of the supply of English wool had produced the desired effect; and offers of alliance had been received from the commercial cities, through the instrumentality of the celebrated Jacques van Artevelde, then rising to the height of his "perilous popularity".

Jacques
 van
 Artevelde.

Van Artevelde came of a good old burgher family. Like his father, he dealt in cloth, and was a member of the Weavers' Gild of Ghent. In his youth he had travelled and seen something of the world, in the suite of Charles of Valois. His enemies stigmatized him as a brewer, because he had married the daughter of a brewer of mead;² but for his second wife he had taken a lady of gentle or noble birth. Able and eloquent, he was essentially a man of action, but rough and dictatorial. The industrial classes worshipped him, but he was not really a demagogue, or a firebrand; his policy was essentially commercial; a trader, he primarily wanted what was good for trade; but he also aimed at a federation of the Flemish towns under the hegemony of Ghent. In the previous month of December the weavers, reduced to utter distress for want of English wool, had turned to him for light and leading. He very sensibly told them to make friends with Edward, without committing themselves to any breach with France or their Count; he assured them that Hainault, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand would be with them; from France they need fear nothing.³ These suggestions were promptly acted on; negotiations with England were opened, and in June (1338) treaties were sealed between the King and 'the men of the towns and territories of the common land (*le comun pais*)

Alliance
 with the
 Flemings.

¹ Scalacr. 168, and Lanercost. For condemnation of the subsidizing system see Grey's own view, Scalacr. 167. For the siege of Dunbar, January-June (1338) see Rot. Scot., Heming. Cont., and Fordun. In June a truce was granted to 'Michaelmas' year.

² Froissart, I. 59, 60, and notes.

³ Lavissee, IV. 40-42, citing Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Jacques d'Artevelde"; and Pirenne, "Histoire de Belgique."

of Flanders'. Edward, forgetful of native industry, threw open his ports to the Flemings, with the fullest liberty of buying wool; the Flemings in return only pledged themselves to give no support to the Scots; and not to intermeddle in the war between Edward and Philip 'styling himself King of France': Edward again bound himself to respect the neutrality of Flemish territories and waters to the fullest extent. Even the English fleets were not to anchor in Flemish waters for more than one tide, except under stress of weather.¹

Visit to
the Nether-
lands.

Fully confirmed in his purpose of a Continental tour, on Thursday 16th of July Edward sailed from the Orwell for Antwerp, with a numerous fleet. Queen Philippa and their second daughter the little Lady Jeanne, already betrothed to Frederic son of the Duke Otho of Austria, accompanied him; also Archbishop Stratford, and the Earls of Derby, Northampton, Salisbury, and Suffolk. On the morrow they landed in the Scheldt.²

The burgher population received them joyfully. They were on the look-out for trade privileges in England; and Edward, again forgetful of native industry and recent legislation, freely gave them all that they asked for. Fresh commercial treaties were speedily sealed with Ghent, Bruges, Louvain, Diest, Brussels, Mechlin, and Cologne.³ The Flemish lords, however, showed little stomach for Edward's work. They were ready enough to be entertained at his table, 'after the manner of England'; but when he ventured to touch upon business, they drew back. They took their cue from the Duke of Brabant, who carefully trimmed between France and England, but in fact played entirely into Philip's hand; he knew that he had more to fear from him than he could possibly hope to gain from Edward. Then the princes who were feudatories

¹ Sealed by Edward's agents at Antwerp, 10th June, and ratified by Edward himself 23rd June; Foed. II. 1043, 1045.

² Foed. 1044, 1049, &c.; Murimuth, 83; Heming. Cont. II. 315; Knighton, 2571.

³ Foed. 1055-1059; Pauli, II. 358.

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of the Empire discovered that they could not properly declare war on France without the sanction of their over-lord. This warrant therefore would have to be obtained.¹

Royal
Progress.

Edward had already taken steps to arrange for an interview with his august brother-in-law.² For sixteen years Louis or Ludwig had been struggling with French Pontiffs and French influences;³ from him at any rate hearty co-operation might be expected. An appointment was soon made for a meeting at Coblenz. Leaving Brabant on the 18th August the Royal party travelled by way of Herenthals, Breda, Sittard and Juliers to Cologne. Sunday 23rd August was devoted to visits to the far-famed shrines of the Three Kings and St. Ursula, while a fitting contribution was given to the building-fund of the grand *Domkirche* then building, and only completed within recent memory. On the 25th of the month the King was entertained at Bonn by Archbishop Waleram; from Bonn Edward moved to Andernach, turning back to the island of Nonnenwerth for a grand entertainment prepared for him by the German magnates. Lavish presents were distributed in return; in fact throughout the progress Edward's magnificence was only equalled by the extravagance of his expenditure.⁴ On the 30th or 31st August he reached Coblenz by water, the Grand Falconer, with a band of Imperial minstrels, going out to meet him in the Emperor's barge.⁵

¹ Le Bel, I. 136-141. In the writer's words Brabant wanted to 'swim between two waters'.

² Foed. II. 1046.

³ The death of Henry of Luxemburg (1313) had been followed by a contested election, four votes (one of them disputed) being cast for Louis and three for Frederic of Austria. For the best part of eight years the two contended in arms till the battle of Mühldorf (28 September 1322) gave Louis a decisive victory. But that at once made him a mark for Papal attacks, and on the 21st March 1324 John XXII excommunicated him, proposing to set up Charles le Bel. Louis, however, managed to get himself crowned Emperor at Rome by Italian bishops (17 January 1328). To complete his offending against the Holy See he set up an anti-pope, one Pietro di Corvara, a 'Spiritual Franciscan', who took the style of Nicholas V. See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, V. 448-474.

⁴ See below, Vol. II, under *Financial Review*.

⁵ *Wardrobe Account*, cited Pauli, II. 359.

Germany at the moment was boiling with indignation at the rejection of the amicable, the almost humble overtures made by Louis to Benedict XII. Two warlike Diets had been held within the last six months; a third was summoned to meet the King of England at Coblentz. On Saturday 7th September the Emperor, superbly robed, with all his regalia on him, took his seat in the market-place, on a throne twelve feet high; a knight with a drawn sword stood behind him; slightly lower sat the King; electors and high functionaries stood in due order before them, while glittering ranks of men-at-arms held the arena. After the transaction of some formal business Edward rose, and arraigned Philip for withholding the throne of France, his maternal heritage. Louis in turn denounced Philip for withholding homage for sundry fiefs held of the Empire, and withdrew all Imperial protection from him until he should have done due homage, and restored the kingdom of France to its rightful owner, the King of England. Lastly, he appointed Edward Imperial Vicar for all the provinces West of the Rhine. Next day, homage was done to Edward as such, and pledges of mutual support against King Philip exchanged by all.¹

But all the big talk was but "a feeble echo of the old war between Empire and Papacy". Louis was an old man worn out with strife. His real wish was for reconciliation with the Church. The fear of dying the death of the excommunicate haunted him; to save his soul he was ready to accept almost any terms that Philip might dictate.² In less than a month he was again negotiating with the King of France.³

Edward returned to Antwerp but half satisfied with the results of the conference. The season for campaigning was over, and all the sums spent in hope of an immediate attack upon France had been spent in vain.

¹ Sismondi, X. 136; Knighton, 2571; Pauli, II. 359, and authorities there cited; also Buchon, note to Froissart, I. 66.

² Milman, V. 489.

³ Pauli, II. 361, citing Böhmer, Reg. Imp. 265.

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"Edward oure cumly king,
In Brabant has his woning,
With mani cumly knight;
And in that land, trewly to tell,
Ordains he still for to dwell
To time he think to fight.
Now God that es of mightes maste,
Grant him grace of the Haly Gaste
His heritage to win!
And Mary moder of mercy fre,
Save oure king and his menzé
Fro sorow and sehame and syn." ¹

¹ Minot, Wright sup. I. 66. The poem seems to have been written before November 1340.

CHAPTER XVI

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1339-1340

Channel Coasts ravaged by French.—Fruitless Campaign in Cambrésis and Vermandois.—Opposition in Parliament.—Enactment of Reforming Statute 14 Edward III.—No Taxation without Consent.—King abroad again.—Battle of Sluys.—Fruitless Siege of Tournay.—Truce of Espléchin.

‘WHILE the King was thus jousting and leading an idle life,’¹ Philip was waging war in earnest on the English coasts. Squadrons manned by Normans, Spaniards, Bretons and Genoese swept the Channel, the Genoese being led by a Doria and a Grimaldi. In spite of the vigilance of the home authorities the Channel Islands had been overrun in 1337, while Portsmouth, Portsea, and Southampton were burnt at different times in 1338.² About the 23rd May 1339 the greater part of Hastings was burnt; late in July an imposing fleet appeared off Sandwich, and effected a landing at Rye; but the men of the Cinque Ports rallied and drove them off, and pursued them with considerable loss into Boulogne harbour.³ In Guienne operations against La Penne in the Agenais had been maintained since the month of April 1338; in January 1339 the place fell.⁴

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The coasts
ravaged.

All through the winter and the spring of 1339 Edward kept endeavouring to enlarge the circle of his alliances, living at a most extravagant rate,⁵ and getting deeply into debt. Creditors began to ask for security. In January

¹ “Le roy . . . a Andewerp ou il gisoit xv moys sanz rien faire de guerre fors a jouter et a demener iolif vie”; Scalacr. 168. Again the sturdy Northumbrian warrior shakes his head at the light-hearted ways of his King.

² Le Bel, I. 151; Foed. II. 989, 1042, 1067, 1070; Knighton, 2572; Murimuth, 87; Heming. Cont. II. 315; Rogers, Prices, II. 614; Lavissee, IV. 46.

³ Knighton, 2573. Admiral Lord Morley retaliated on the coast of Normandy, 2574.

⁴ Vic et Vaissette, IV. 225-229.

⁵ Le Bel, I. 151.

Reginald of Guelders was required to put his name as surety to a bond for 600 marks borrowed by Edward of one Simon of Halle. In February the royal crown of England was deposited with the Archbishop of Treves as security for a monthly 'wage' of 11,000 gold florins, besides 25,000 florins already spent on preliminary expenses. In May three bishops and four earls gave their joint and several guarantees for 150,000 florins borrowed of Nicolò Bartolomei of Lucca; and again for 54,000 florins borrowed of three citizens of Mechlin. In June a matrimonial alliance was arranged with Brabant, the Duke of Cornwall being engaged to the Duke's daughter Margaret. John gave an earnest of £50,000 to bind the King to his bargain, but thirty English magnates had to guarantee the repayment of the money if the marriage should not take place.¹ At home Edward ordered a general suspension of Crown payments, directing even the salaries of the judges to be stopped.²

On the 16th July the King issued a fresh declaration of war, in the shape of an elaborate argument addressed to the Pope and Cardinals, setting forth his title to the crown of France as the nearest male relative of the late King.³ That done he marched to Vilvoorden to meet his tardy allies. Ample as the warning had been they were not ready yet. Brabant especially kept hanging back.⁴ At last, however, after another urgent appeal, Guelders and Juliers, the former now raised to a dukedom, the latter to a margravate,⁵ the young Count of Hainault, his uncle John of Hainault, and a few minor lords were set in motion.⁶ Last in point

¹ See Foed. II. 1069, 1072, 1076, 1080, 1083, 1085. The Florence gold florin would be worth about 6s. 8d. sterling.

² Id. 1049, 1081. Exceptions were made in favour of the Bardi and Perucci, and in the case of debts incurred for the war in Scotland.

³ Foed. 1086. Edward was related to Charles IV in the second degree; the Count of Evreux, the grandson of Louis Hutin, was only related in the third degree; Philip of Valois in a very remote degree. See Pedigree above, p. 212.

⁴ See Le Bel, I. 149.

⁵ Froissart, I. 66. Mrs. Green gives the date of Guelders' promotion as 19 March 1339; Princesses, III. 85.

⁶ Mrs. Green gives the date of Edward's final departure from Antwerp as the 8th September, III. 86.

of time, and not till after the opening of the campaign, appeared the Duke of Brabant.¹ CHAP. XVI

With respect to Edward's numbers, the careful Canon of Leicester tells us that of English troops the King had 1,200 men-at-arms, 800 *viroso armatos*, i.e. hobelers, or light horse, and 2,000 archers,² 4,000 men in all, a very probable estimate. In a message to Parliament the King represented himself as having 15,000 men.³ That figure must be taken as including his allies. Knighton's estimate of the English men-at-arms does not differ much from that of Le Bel, who gives them as "*seize cents armures de fer de tres noble chevalerie*".⁴ Too much trust, however, should not be placed in these estimates. We have the bill sent in by Juliers, and the amount claimed was only for 1,000 *armures de fer*.⁵ If we should allow the same number for Guelders, and twice as much for Hainault and Brabant each, we should only have some 7,000 or 8,000 men-at-arms, a most formidable host.

An indispensable preliminary to actual hostilities would be the formal 'defiance' of the French King, Edward's over-lord. The delicate task of renouncing the feudal bond was entrusted to the Bishop of Lincoln, who held a command in the army. Walter Manny had vowed to be the first man over the border. As soon as he judged that the homage had been renounced, he started from Brussels with 40 lances; and, riding night and day, endeavoured to surprise the town and castle of Mortagne.⁶ The attack failed, but he managed to surprise and garrison the little castle of Thun-l'Évêque near Cambrai.⁷ War declared.

Philip had not been prepared for a September campaign; the word, however, was promptly passed for a muster at Saint-Quentin; his barons turned out in strength; while the attendant banners of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre shed French forces.

¹ Le Bel, I. 51, 55; Froissart, I. 70.

² Knighton, c. 2576; also Bridlington, 147. On the Pell Receipt Rolls "*viroso armatos*" are identified with hobelers.

³ Rot. Parl. II. 103.

⁴ p. 53.

⁵ Foed. II. 1108.

⁶ Dept. Nord, junction of the Scarpe and Scheldt.

⁷ Froissart, I. 71.

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unprecedented lustre on the host. The Dauphin de Viennois and the Counts of Savoy and Geneva appeared as independent allies.¹

The
campaign.

On Monday 20th September, Edward, moving from Valenciennes, entered the Cambrésis. The work of destruction commenced at once; far and wide the country was ravaged; whatever could not be carried off was burnt or destroyed. On the 25th September the King entered France proper at Marcoing.² There the Count of Hainault took his leave. Allegiance to the Emperor, he said, might necessitate the invasion of an Imperial fief in wrongful hands, but not that of the territories of his dear uncle of France.³ The place left vacant by the retirement of the Hainaulters was filled by the appearance of the Margrave of Brandenburg and Misnia; the Emperor, as if ashamed of being any longer cajoled by Philip, had sent his son with some 100 lances.⁴

Philip was then established at Péronne; but on the left bank of the Somme, with the river between himself and the English. Edward advanced towards Péronne, in the hopes of bringing his adversary to action; but Philip declined to cross the river in the face of the enemy; nor did Edward on his part show himself more venturesome; keeping to his own side of the river he quietly wasted the whole country from Bapaume to St. Quentin.⁵ On the 16th October he crossed the Oise near Origny, entering the district of the Thiérache (Aisne). The work of destruction was followed up on that new field, and the whole country

¹ Froissart, I. 272; De Nangis, Cont. sup. 101. The King of Navarre was Charles the Bad, grandson of Louis Hutin; the King of Bohemia was John of Luxemburg, the blind son of the Emperor Henry VII; his sister had been married to Charles IV, 'le Bel,' and he himself lived at the French court.

² See Edward's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Avesbury, 303; cf. Foedera for the dates.

³ Le Bel, I. 155; Froissart, I. 77. The count withdrew to Quesnoy; later in the campaign he offered to join his uncle at Buironfosse, but met with such a cool reception that he went home again; Le Bel, 160. William's mother was Philip's sister.

⁴ 6 October; Heming, Cont. II. 341; Pauli, II. 364, citing Böhmer.

⁵ Le Bel, I. 158; Froissart, I. 76, 77.

wasted up to the line of St. Quentin and Laon.¹ But the allies were getting weary of destroying farm produce, sacking nunneries, and skirmishing before the gates of fenced cities. They were beginning to urge a return home when on Monday the 18th October a challenge to a pitched battle came in from the French camp.² Philip, who had been following the English at an easy distance, offered to meet them on the Thursday or Friday following, on any fair field of battle, unencumbered by river, swamp or wood. The English answered that Philip would find them ready whenever he chose to attack. On the Wednesday a further communication was received from the King of Bohemia; and on the Thursday Edward retired to La Flamengerie, near La Capelle, and established himself in a strong position there; while Philip made a corresponding advance to Buironfosse. On Friday prisoners were brought in who declared that Philip really meant fighting, and that he would certainly attack on the morrow. On the morrow (Saturday 23 October), both armies were astir before sunrise. Masses were sung in each camp, and many confessed and communicated. The English removed their horses to the rear, carefully surrounding them with a "lager" of carts and waggons; they themselves took post in three divisions, all on foot, with a fourth in reserve. The German allies under the Duke of Guelders formed the right division, corresponding to the van; the Brabanters under their Duke formed the left or rear division; the English supplied the centre and the reserve.³ The French likewise adopted a threefold division; but their brilliant chivalry did not condescend to fight on foot. Four thousand French knights, it was said, mounted the saddle that day. But neither side advanced to give battle. Hour after hour passed away, yet nothing happened. At mid-day a hare got up among the French ranks. The soldiers shouted. In the rear the

A challenge;

But no fight.

¹ Avesbury, sup.; Froissart, 77-80; Le Bel, I. 159.

² See the challenge and the answer, Foed. II. 1093. The writer of the *Grandes Chroniques* admits that Philip was spurred to action by the murmurs of the French; V. 378.

³ Le Bel, I. 160; Froissart, I. 82.

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End of
campaign.

cry was raised that the battle had begun. The great lords began to confer the honours of knighthood on their chief retainers, doomed, alas! to be known afterwards as 'Knights of the Hare'.¹ That was the only opportunity of distinction afforded to them that day. The French were divided in their minds; and Philip's advisers pointed out to him that the chances of the battle offered no advantages commensurate with the risks. The question was finally settled by the production of a letter from King Robert of Naples, 'reputed a great *savant* and consequently a great astrologer'. He pronounced the conjunction of the stars unfavourable to Philip. At vesper time the English mounted their horses and retired towards Avesnes. The French attempting to pursue lost 1,000 men in a bog. On the Monday (25th October) Edward dismissed his allies; on the 1st November he was back at Brussels.²

The campaign may be taken as one typical of *la grande guerre* as waged at the time, a vast expenditure incurred, great disturbance of affairs, a certain amount of territory wasted and numbers of people rendered homeless, without any one question being advanced a single point nearer to solution.

The ravaging of the Cambrésis and Vermandois were the sole achievements so far effected by Edward. For this he had incurred £300,000 of debt, and forfeited the goodwill of the Pope.³ In Gascony the French had gained considerable advantages. They had captured Bourq and Blaye, and almost taken Bordeaux.⁴

¹ Chevaliers du Lièvre.

² See Edward's letter, Avesbury, sup.; Le Bel, I. 160; Froissart, I. 81, &c.; Heming. Cont. II. 340, &c.; Sismondi, X. 151, &c. The Grandes Chroniques and Flemish chroniclers assert that the English position was so protected by swamps that the French could not attack with prudence. This assertion receives support from Edward's own narrative. But cf. De Nangis, Cont. 101, against Philip.

³ See the Bull of the 13th November, threatening Edward with spiritual censures for his attack on the Cambrésis, Foed. II. 1092; Rot. Parl. I. 103. On the 31st December Benedict offered to mediate in person. Edward answered that Philip's attitude made all negotiations hopeless, but that if any decent offer of satisfaction were yet made he would not reject it, &c.; Foed. II. 1103, 1107.

⁴ De Nangis, Cont. 101; Walsingham, I. 1225.

The unfortunate results of his efforts so far did not shake Edward's purpose. Still clinging to his foreign alliances he held a Diet at Brussels to concert operations for the ensuing year. Van Artevelde was specially invited to be present.¹ His talents had gained for him almost as great an ascendancy over the King of England as over the people of the Netherlands; and he succeeded in carrying, through Edward's influence, a treaty of confederation between Brabant and Flanders, or rather between the free commercial cities of the two states.² Working steadily towards his end, he had been in no hurry to break either with Philip or the Count. He had invited Philip to restore to Flanders the cities of Lille, Douai and Bethune seized by Philip the Fair. He had pointed out to Count Louis the greatness of his opportunity. But Philip was obdurate, and the Count, who was bound to him by the French fiefs of Nevers and Rethel, refused to stir.³ Then Artevelde threw himself heartily into the English alliance, and pointed out to the King that the definite assumption of the Crown of France might remove a difficulty. Homage was due by the Flemings to the Crown of France, and they were bound under a penalty of 2,000,000 florins to the Apostolic Chamber not to engage in hostilities against that Crown. But, as between two competitors for the Crown, they might be excused if they made a mistake. Edward took the hint, and on the 25th January 1340 assumed the double style. The Lilies were quartered with the Lions,⁴ and a new Seal struck.⁵ To follow up the new alliance a grand conference was held at Ghent; representatives of all the Flemish towns were in attendance. On the 28th January (1340)

A commercial treaty.

¹ Froissart.

² Ghent, 3rd December; Sismondi, X. 156, citing Meyer; Pauli, II. 368, citing Kervyn de Lettenhove, Hist. Fland. III. 586.

³ Down to the 4th January 1340 Edward was endeavouring to win the Count to his side; Foed. II. 1116.

⁴ Lavissee, IV. 44; Froissart, I. 84, &c.; Le Bel, I. 163. Edward had not followed up his manifesto of the 7th October, 1337, by using the style of King of France. But from the beginning of his fourteenth year, 25 January 1340, he regularly uses the double regnal year, and so down to 1361.

⁵ For the Seal see Foss, III. 316; Barnes, 154.

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treaties were sealed by which the re-establishment of the wool-staple in Flanders and other commercial advantages were conferred on the Flemings by Edward, who further undertook to win back for them Lille, Douai, Orchies and the county of Artois besides guaranteeing their financial and judicial independence.¹ In return he received formal recognition as King of France by the Flemings.²

In the previous month of December the King had obtained from the Duke of Brabant, as the representative of his foreign creditors, leave to visit England on special business. Edward undertook to return by the Feast of St. John, meanwhile leaving the Earls of Derby and Salisbury as bail for his return.³ His presence in Parliament was urgently desired; a session had been held at Westminster in October,⁴ during the campaign; and a letter from the King had been produced, in which he frankly stated that the amount of his liabilities could not be less than £300,000. For the first time "symptoms appeared of a disposition to make conditions before consenting to a grant." All admitted that the King's needs were great. After consideration the Magnates suggested the grant of the tenth sheaf, fleece and lamb from all demesne lands, but not from bond-land; ⁵ the proceeds to be paid over in such manner as tithes to the church were usually paid, and the liquidation to be spread over two years. In return they asked for the following concessions, namely, the abrogation of the "maletotes", i.e. the surtaxes of 40s. on the sack of

¹ Lavissee, sup.; Feod. II. 1106, 1107. In August 1341 the wool-staple was fixed at Bruges; Feod.

² Froissart and Le Bel, sup.; Knighton, 2576; Lanercost, 332. On the 5th March the Pope wrote to Edward in kindly terms, but rejecting his pretensions, and pointing out the hopelessness of an attempt to conquer France; Feod. 1117.

³ Feod. 1100.

⁴ October 13th-28th; Lords' Report.

⁵ "De leur demesne terres, sauf la terre leur bondes." These important words should be compared with the passage in Murimuth, p. 80, where, with reference to the Fifteenth from the Counties in 1337, he notes that it was only granted "de forinsecis". That would seem to be the ordinary grant, the present one being exceptional. The indisposition of the Lords towards laying further burdens on the servile tenants clearly would be connected with the difficulty beginning to be experienced in getting men to stay on the land on base tenures.

wool and 60s. on the last of leather obtained from the merchants in August 1336 or the more recent imposition of 40s. and 80s. obtained on the 27th November 1337;¹ also the prohibition of death-bed alienations of land in fraud of the rights of over-lords; they also asked that the wardship of minors should be given to the nearest blood relative—the old English rule.² The Commons were more reserved. While expressing heartfelt sentiments of loyalty and sympathy for the King in his straits, they doubted whether they could assent to such a grant without consulting their constituents; they begged therefore that another Parliament might be summoned; only knights ‘of the best class’³ to be returned, but not men serving as sheriffs, or filling other royal offices. They also presented four points of grace, namely, the abrogation of the *maletote*, imposed without assent of Commons or Great Men ‘as we understand’: an amnesty for Forest offences: an abandonment of claims for ‘murder’ and felons’ chattels: also of the customary Aids for knighting the King’s son and marrying his daughter. Finally they went the length of asking what manner of ‘surety’ would be given them in these matters. The demand for a fresh Parliament was granted, and the 20th January 1340 fixed as the day for meeting.⁴

When the session was opened, and business entered upon, the Commons asked for time to consider their position. On the 19th February they made an offer of 30,000 sacks of wool, on condition of the King’s acceptance of a schedule of Articles, which had been endorsed both by prelates and barons. How the Commons proposed to deal with the owners of the wool to be seized does not appear. The Lords for themselves renewed their offer of the tenth sheaf, fleece and lamb from their demesnes; but they pressed the Commons for the grant of something immediate to meet

Fresh
offer.

¹ Customs’ Accounts.

² Rot. Parl. II. 103, 104.

³ “Des mielz vanez” (lit. *best winnowed*).

⁴ Rot. Parl. II. 104–106; Foed. II. 1098. At the same time writs were issued for Convocations, that of Canterbury for the 27th January, and that of York for the 2nd February. The former granted a Tenth, the latter two Tenths, not having contributed in 1338; Wake, 287, 288; Foed. 1069.

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the urgent wants of the navy, required for the defence of the coasts. The Commons answered by granting 2,500 sacks of wool, as either on account of a larger grant to be made on terms, or otherwise as a free gift.

The demands put forward by the Articles were considered by the King's Ministers too important to be dealt with without his personal concurrence; the session therefore was adjourned to give him time to come over. In the mean time stringent orders were issued for the impressment of shipping and the arming of the coasts; while 700 men-at-arms, 2,010 horse archers, and 2,000 hobelers were sent to the Scottish March, operations there having now assumed a defensive character.¹

Return of
the King.

On the 21st February the King landed in the Orwell.² On the 29th March he at last brought himself to the point of meeting his lieges at Westminster, face to face. A large number of merchants had been summoned to attend. The picture of their King a possible prisoner for debt at Brussels was more than the loyal Houses could bear to contemplate. Instead of a tenth the ninth sheaf, fleece and lamb were granted by peers and knights, for themselves and their tenants, for two years; the burgesses giving a ninth of their goods, with a fifteenth from petty traders not living in towns; and from small flock-masters 'living in forests and wastes'; cottars and labourers, and they alone, would be exempted.³ By a further grant the condemned "maletote" was legalized and continued, at the rates of 40s. on the sack of wool and 300 wool fells, and 80s. on the last of leather, but only till Whitsunday 1341, the King promising after that neither to take nor ask for more than two marks (£1 6s. 8d.) on the sack of wool.⁴

In return Edward accepted the Articles or petitions of

¹ Rot. Parl. II. 104-107. The ships, called for or offered, would be of 100 tons burden or upwards.

² Foed. II. 1115.

³ Rot. Parl. 112. The clergy refused to concur in this grant, except as to lands not assessed to the taxation of Nicholas, pleading the Tenth recently granted; Murimuth, 104; Heming. Cont. II. 354.

⁴ Knighton, 2576; Statutes, I. 289.

the previous year, only referring them for consideration to a committee of prelates, barons, and judges, with twelve elected representatives of the counties, and six of the boroughs. Temporary matters would be left in the hands of the King and Council, permanent alterations of the law would be formally enacted. Their labours resulted in the compilation of the four acts or statutes of the 14th year of Edward III.

The first grants the desired amnesty and remission of Crown debts, and abolishes Murdrum fines, Presentment of Englishry,¹ and the old customary Aids for knighting the King's eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter (chapters 2, 3, 4); the last an amazing concession, considering the antiquity and undoubted legality of the impost. Various measures follow to facilitate the course of justice, and the administration of the counties by the sheriffs and other royal officers (c. 5). Next-of-kin, to whom the inheritance cannot descend, to have the option of taking charge of the lands of a minor during nonage, on condition of rendering the value thereof to the King (c. 13). Purveyance for the royal household not to be taken except by duly authorized purveyors, and by agreement between the parties—a very old, in fact a stereotyped undertaking; provision for the King's horses and hounds to be made by the sheriffs out of their issues, a very proper arrangement (c. 19). The second statute declares that the present subsidies shall not be made a precedent for future grants; and that no charge or aid shall henceforth be made but by the common assent of the prelates, earls, barons and other great men, and the commons of the realm, and that in Parliament.² All fresh taxation except by consent of Parliament is thus declared illegal, a most important constitutional gain, which was held to do away with the claim to assess tallages on boroughs and demesnes to which the

No
taxation
without
consent.

¹ "Murdrum" was the fine imposed on a Hundred for the death of a Frenchman, if the slayer was not brought to justice; and every man found slain was assumed to be a Frenchman, unless the contrary was established by "Presentment of Englishry"; Pollock and Maitland, I. 91; II. 488.

² Statutes, I. 289.

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King like his father and his grandfather had clung.¹ The act therefore has been regarded as the supplement to *Confirmatio Cartarum*, "the real act *De Tallagio non concedendo*."² But the reader must not suppose that the practice of levying money by illegal means had passed away for ever. In the constitutional struggle the difficulty was not to obtain pledges, but to bind the Crown down to observing them. We shall shortly find the King readily obtaining leave to reimpose the disclaimed Aids; and we shall find him first, boldly assessing men, according to their estates, to find men-at-arms, hobelers, or archers for service abroad; and then commuting the service for fines according to a scale,³ a simple repetition of the illegal fines *ne transfretent* of Richard and John.

The third statute provides in answer to a special petition that no 'subjection or obedience' shall be due from the realm of England, or the people thereof, to Edward, or his successors, as Kings of France in consequence of the devolution of the Crown of France on him as rightful heir to the same. Without this very necessary provision the English might have been called upon for service abroad, under their allegiance to the Crown of France as vested in their King.

Clerical
grievances.

The fourth statute deals with the grievances of which the clergy had still to complain, in spite of all the declarations in favour of the 'liberty of the Church', its rights and franchises, enunciated by Magna Carta and its numerous confirmations. No purveyance either in goods or transport to be taken of spiritual persons; no guests (*ostages*) or sojourners from Scotland or elsewhere to be quartered on them. The Act also limits the time within which the Crown might exercise rights of patronage enjoyed in connexion with lands in hand, either through vacancy of sees, or the

¹ For the present reign see above, under June, 1332, when the King endeavoured to impose a tallage of a fourteenth, p. 223. Only in March of the present year he had proposed to assess a practical tallage of £20,000 on the citizens of London, but ultimately accepted a 'loan' of 5,000 marks; Riley, *Memorials of London*, 209.

² Bp. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 402.

³ Pell Receipt Roll, Mich., 21 Edw. III.

nonage of lay patrons ; the King must present within three years ; existing clerks having been in possession for a year to have indefeasible right ; escheators in charge of the temporalities of vacant sees not to commit waste, or take fines for renewal from tenants, or sell underwood ; but to be bound to maintain everything in good order ; Chapters to have the option of farming vacant temporalities on rendering full value to the King.¹

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To finish with the Parliament ; the Peers gave a ready consent to the promotion of the King's brother-in-law, William of Juliers,² to the Earldom of Cambridge, with a pension of £1,000 a year to him and his heirs in fee simple. But they addressed an earnest, almost a peremptory, request that at whatsoever hour the King, while abroad, might get an offer of good and suitable terms of peace, acceptable to his allies and counsellors, then that he should close with the same.³ The last word of the Magnates is for peace. Seventy-four years hence we shall find the Baronage again struggling, but in vain, to curb the ambition of a King bent on stirring up the slumbering embers of the great war.

The
Magnates
for Peace.

Parliament done with, Edward was free to return to the Continent where his friends were anxiously looking for his coming. In his absence Philip had assumed the offensive and attacked his allies. He had not forgiven the Count of Holland for his share in the ravaging of the Cambrésis, and had sent parties to burn Chimay and Haspre, towns in Hainault. William II then 'defied' his uncle and burned Auberton, a rich manufacturing town (Aisne).⁴ Regular war ensued ; all the garrisons of Lille, Tournay and Douai were let loose to plunder ; the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk endeavouring to check these ravages were taken prisoners near Lille.⁵ After Easter (16 April) Philip's son the Duke of Normandy entered Hainault in force ; an attack on Le Quesnoy was repulsed by the help of 'canons

The war
abroad.

¹ Statutes, I. 292, &c.

² Married to Jeanne, Queen Philippa's sister.

³ Rot. Parl. II. 114.

⁴ April ; Le Bel, I. 166 ; Froissart, I. 87-92 ; De Nangis, Cont. sup.

⁵ Knighton, 2557 ; De Nangis, 103 ; Foed. II. 1170.

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Edward
going
abroad
again.

and bombardes ' planted on the walls ;¹ pushing on, the Duke wasted the country as far as Valenciennes and Bavay. All Brabant lay at his mercy, but, instead of following up his advantage, he turned back to reduce Escandeuve on the Scheldt. After a spell of rest within the walls of Cambrai, he returned to the charge for an attack on Thun-l'Évêque, the fort recently won by Manny. But meanwhile the Flemings had been roused to a sense of their danger. The Pope at Philip's request had laid their country under Interdict.² In this crisis the Flemish lords condescended to concert measures with Van Artevelde. A combined army was marched to the frontier. Thun fell, but the wave of French invasion was stayed. The two armies were confronting one another on the Scheldt when Edward sailed from England.³

Philip had not neglected measures for hindering the return of his adversary ; a powerful fleet under three captains, Hue Quiéret, Pierre Béhuchet, and the famed Genoese rover Barbanero of Porto Venere, had been watching the English coasts. Béhuchet, at one time Treasurer, was a man of humble birth, and of course a landsman ; Quiéret was an admiral, but not a seaman ; Barbanero was thus the only sailor of the three.⁴ The fleet, mostly Norman, was formidable from its numbers ; but Béhuchet was taxed with having, from motives of economy, filled his fighting ranks with men of inferior class, while the English men-at-arms, knights and esquires, were all ' gentlemen '.⁵

At home the reports of the armaments prepared to dispute the King's passage, and, if possible, effect his capture, made men uneasy at the thought of his going.

¹ Froissart, I. 98. The cannon are described as throwing heavy crossbow-bolts, so that probably they were hand-guns. The use of gunpowder is not spoken of as a novelty. Buchon cites an order for gunpowder of the year 1338, and we had it in 1327.

² Froissart, I. 98 ; Sismondi, X. 164, citing Meyer.

³ Le Bel, I. 169 ; Froissart, I. 101, &c. The *Grandes Chroniques* place the attack on Le Quesnoy after the sieges of Escandeuve and Thun.

⁴ Froissart, I. 93, 105-107, and Buchon's notes ; Sismondi, X. 167 ; De Nangis, Cont. 102 ; Villani.

⁵ So the *Grandes Chroniques*, and Villani ; " gentili uomini."

Archbishop Stratford, who was probably altogether opposed to the King's warlike policy, took up a strong line on the subject, and Edward, to please his subjects, agreed to postpone his voyage for some days, to give time for strengthening his force; eventually more ships and men-at-arms and archers offered themselves than he wanted, and many had to be sent back.¹ But still Stratford was not satisfied. On the 20th June, the King being in the Orwell, on board the "cog" Thomas, only waiting for a fair wind to sail, he made his appearance, and begged to be allowed to resign the Great Seal. His resignation was immediately accepted, and the Seal given to his brother Robert, Bishop of Chichester, who had already been both Chancellor, and his brother's *locum tenens*.²

On Thursday 22nd June, the west wind blowing, the King at last got under way. The fleet comprised three squadrons; one from the East coast under Robert Lord Morley, as Admiral of the Northern fleet; one from the Thames and the Cinque Ports, under the Earl of Huntingdon as Warden of the Cinque Ports; and the third from the Western ports under the Earl of Arundel, the last two commanders having been specially appointed in the January Parliament. The King of course held the supreme command over all. As naval expert he had beside him the veteran John Crab, who having quarrelled with the Scots in 1332³ had taken service with England. The trusty Bishop of Lincoln and the Earls of Derby, Hereford, Northampton, Gloucester, and Pembroke⁴ were in attendance with suitable contin-

¹ Avesbury, 311; Rot. Scot. I. 592. Chroniclers' estimates of shipping are not usually more trustworthy than their estimates of men or money. The best datum for an estimate of Edward's fleet seems to be found in the fact that in the January Parliament the men of the Cinque Ports undertook to find 30 ships of 100 tons and upwards for themselves and the Thames; the men of the western ports to find 70 such. With a fair allowance for the ports of the East and North we should get something very like the 147 vessels specifically alleged by the well-informed Franciscan Chronicler, Lanercost, 333. Villani only gives the English "120 cocche armate" with 2,000 men-at-arms, "gentili uomini, cavalieri"; the latter figure probably too high.

² Foss, III. 322, 323.

³ See above, p. 220.

⁴ Lawrence Hastings, married to Agnes Mortimer, and created 12th October 1339; Doyle.

gents; we also hear of Walter Manny and John Chandos of future fame; the last had been knighted by the King in the campaign of the previous year. The fleet also conveyed a bevy of fair dames and damsels, a reinforcement for the court of Queen Philippa, who had been left at Ghent.¹ The party included the King's eldest daughter, the Lady Isabella, eight years old. The Flemings, we are told, had begged Edward to bring over a competent number of priests prepared to ignore the Interdict, and minister to their spiritual wants; whether their request was complied with does not appear.²

Towards mid-day on Friday the 23rd June the English on nearing the Flemish coast descried the French fleet, as 'a very forest of masts', in the then harbour of Sluys. This roadstead, now mostly silted up, and reduced to a sandy flat, with the river Zwyn trickling through it, was then a commodious haven, protected on the North by the island of Cadsand.³ As to the numbers of the enemy's shipping the King subsequently writing to his son gives them as 'nine score ships, galleys, and great barges'.⁴

As the day was still young Edward might have gone into action at once. But we are told that he refused to shed blood on the day of the week on which Christ was put to death;⁵ and so the fleet was brought to an anchor off Blankenberg, ten miles to the West of Sluys. A mounted party was at once sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's position.⁶

At daybreak on the morrow both sides began to prepare for action. The French Admirals, in spite of Barbanero's remonstrances, insisted upon taking up a purely defensive position within the harbour. In vain he urged that by

¹ Froissart, I. 106, 107. For more names see Barnes, 183.

² Lavissee, IV. 45; Martin, V. 47.

³ Prof. Tout, *Pol. Hist.* III. 346, refers to the map in the Oxford Atlas, Pl. LVI.

⁴ See the letter dated 28th June; Nicolas, *Hist. Navy*, II. 501; Villani gave the numbers as 200 "cocche" besides 30 Genoese galleys.

⁵ So Chron. Lond. 76. The King himself only says that the tide did not suit.

⁶ Knighton, 2577.

fighting in such a position they were throwing away the advantage of their superior numbers and bigger ships. As a compromise they moved out to the harbour mouth, by the island of Cadsand.¹ There they established themselves, with their vessels arranged three or four ranks deep, the tallest and biggest ships in front, all linked together with chains and cables.² Thus they thought that the alternative risks of being outflanked or cut in two were both met. The French chivalry having no partiality for the sea were resolved to reduce the action as much as possible to one on dry land. The topcastles were filled with men armed with stones and missiles.³ Barbanero refusing to be thus hampered kept out in the open.

The English also put their biggest ships to the front. To profit by their superiority in archery they arranged their line so as to have two ships manned with archers to one manned with men-at-arms; a flying squadron manned exclusively with archers was told off to act as circumstances might suggest; while a rear squadron with men-at-arms guarded the ladies.⁴

As the initiative was left to the English they were able to manœuvre till wind and water and the direction of the sun's rays were favourable. At last 'well after mid-day',⁵ the tide suiting, the engagement began. With sound of trumpet, naker (kettle-drum), viol, tabor, and all kinds of music the English steered their ships full sail for the harbour mouth, and crashed into the Frenchmen at their

The
English
attack.

¹ Id. 2578; "versus Catat," De Nangis, Cont. cited Nicolas: "quasi in Ostio fluvii de Schlusa decurrentis ad mare se statuerunt"; Heming. Cont. II. 356. This movement to the mouth of the harbour must be the basis of the allegation by some writers that the French at the last came out to meet the English (Avesbury, 312; Murimuth, 106); the King's statement that he had to enter the harbour to attack the enemy is quite decisive: "entrames en le dit port sur nos dits enemys."

² Knighton, sup.; Chron. Lond. 76; Avesbury, 312.

³ Baker, 68.

⁴ Froissart, 106.

⁵ "Bien apres heure de noune a la tyde nous entrames en le dit port sur nos dits enemys;" Edward's letter, sup. Astronomical calculations show that on that coast on the 24th June high tide would be at 11.23 a.m.; Nicolas, sup. 51. The sun in the West presumably would serve the English best. The Continuator of Hemingburgh says that the action began a little before vespers; II. 356.

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Complete
victory.

moorings. Archers and crossbowmen exchanged volleys, while the English men-at-arms, grappling the enemy, boarded and fought hand to hand. As usual the archer fire swept all before it; a determined attack resulted in the re-capture of the great cog Christopher, the pride of the English navy, that had been carried off by the French from Middleberg in 1338¹ with two sister cogs, the Edward and the Rose. The French flag was hauled down, the Lions and Lilies were hoisted instead, and the prizes utilized for attacks on their comrades in the rear. The French fought with their usual gallantry; the whole crew of one English ship was said to have been stoned to death; foot by foot, however, the enemy was driven back, and taking to their boats, were drowned by hundreds through overcrowding. The arrival of a reinforcement to the English from Bruges, during the action, helped to prolong the struggle which lasted till sunset, and ended in the practical annihilation of the French fleet. Of the French admirals Quiéret was killed in the battle; Béhuchet, the destroyer of Portsmouth, taken prisoner, was hung at the masthead; Barbanero, keeping out at sea, escaped with his squadron. The losses on the French side must have been very considerable, but no estimate of any value can be given of them. Edward said that he was informed that only 5,000 men out of 35,000 had escaped, an incredible total;² Froissart allows no one to escape. For the English losses Baker talks of 4,000 men. We should be content with the tenth of that estimate, namely the 400 men of the trustworthy Lanercost chronicle, with some half-dozen knights. Chief of these were Thomas of Monthermer, son of Jeanne of Acre by her second husband Ralph of Monthermer; Thomas Latimer, perhaps uncle to the young lord William, a boy nine years old; John and William Butler, and Thomas Poynings.³ Edward behaved

¹ The King had sailed to Antwerp in the Christopher that year; the vessel with his other big ships being left with insufficient guard, was carried off by the French; *Grandes Chroniques*, V. 375.

² See his letter, *sup.*, and Heming. Cont. II. 356. Baker, 69, is content with 25,000 killed or drowned.

³ Froissart and Baker, *sup.*; Lanercost, 333; Lavissee, IV. 46, 47. The writer,

with great gallantry throughout the action; slightly wounded in the leg he refused to quit his post.¹

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Edward remained for some days on board his ship; then landing he attended a thanksgiving Mass at the shrine of our Lady of Aardenburg, and after dinner rode on to Ghent, to greet Philippa and her newly-born son John, named after his birth-place, in the current French form, Jean de Gand, or as pronounced by English lips 'John of Gaunt'.²

The brilliant victory at Sluys gave no impulse to the campaign on the Scheldt. The Flemish lords hastened to Ghent to offer their congratulations to the victor of Sluys. On the way, Van Artevelde, who was with the army, delivered a public harangue at Valenciennes on Edward's right to the Crown of France, and the advantages of union between Flanders, Hainault and Brabant. The theme was improved at a Diet held by Edward at Vilvoorden. A fresh treaty of confederation was sealed; a common currency was agreed upon; and the 22nd of July named for an attack upon Tournay.³ Tournay was one of the places promised by Edward to the Flemings as the price of his recognition. As Philip held the Upper Scheldt by the occupation of Cambray, so he held the Lower Scheldt by his hold of Tournay, and the fortress broke the line of commerce between Flanders and Brabant.⁴

On the 9th July the King wrote from Bruges to the Houses of Parliament at Westminster to explain his plans. He expected shortly to attack Tournay with 100,000 men; while Robert of Artois would march on Saint-Omer with 50,000 men; he begged that arrangements might be made for hastening the collection of the grants made in the spring.⁵ Parliament recognized the urgency of the case, and once more gave its consent to the seizure of 20,000 sacks of wool for the King's benefit; the arrangement was that the owners should be repaid out of the proceeds of the

Grants of wool.

however (M. Coville), accepts the figures of 10,000, and 20,000 fallen on the two sides. See also Edward's other letters, Avesbury, 312; Foed. II. 1129.

¹ Froissart, sup. and note.

² Le Bel, I. 172; Froissart, I. 107, 108.

³ Le Bel, I. 173, 174; Froissart, I. 107-109.

⁴ Green, Short Hist. I. 411.

⁵ Foed. 1130; Rot. Parl.

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Ninths for the second year, at the prices fixed at Nottingham, the proceeds of these Ninths not to be charged or anticipated, but strictly applied to repayment for the wool. Merchants were found who agreed to take the King's wool at one mark the sack below the Nottingham rates, and to account to him at once for the same, *plus* the duty at 40s. the sack.¹

On the 23rd July Edward established his head-quarters between Courtrai and Tournay. The Dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the Count of Hainault, and the Margraves of Juliers Brandenburg and Misnia again brought contingents, while Van Artevelde appeared at the head of an imposing force of Flemish burghers.² Tournay was invested as previously arranged, while Robert of Artois was sent with a Flemish army to establish himself near Cassel, to watch the French garrisons at Saint-Omer, Aire and Saint-Venant. This campaign soon came to an end. Robert, perhaps dreaming of recovering Artois, ventured to attack Saint-Omer, advancing apparently in two divisions. The garrison came out to meet him. The men of Ypres, one of his divisions, were at once defeated and fled. Robert himself with the other division gained some advantage over his old adversary the Duke of Burgundy, and penetrated a suburb; but the city gates barred his progress, and the French closing round his rear, he found himself obliged to fall back on his baggage, which had been left at Arques, some three miles distant. But the camp was found empty, the Flemings having fled in panic, and Robert had to follow them back to Cassel, a beaten and discredited leader.³

Edward was probably beginning to realize the truth of the Pope's warning that he would find himself a mere dupe in the hands of his allies.⁴ At any rate he felt that time was

¹ See Rot. Parl. II. 117-122; cf. 133, 140. It does not appear that the merchants had to account for the full price eventually realized. Probably they made a good thing of it.

² Grandes Chroniques, V. 388 and notes; Froissart, I. 110; Le Bel, I. 176.

³ See the long story, Grandes Chroniques, V. 392-397; and Le Bel, I. 177, 178; Murimuth, 108, and the Chron. Lond. 78 give Robert a complete victory; *contra* Scalacr. 171.

⁴ See Foed. II. 1097, 13 November 1339.

against him. To hasten matters he sent a challenge to 'Philip of Valois' offering to meet him either single-handed, or with 100 men aside, or with his entire army, within ten days. Edward protested that he made the offer in sober earnest to shorten the sufferings entailed by the campaign. But Philip was not to be lured into risking a general action. Securely entrenched at an easy distance among the swamps of the Lys,¹ on the old battlefield of Bouvines, he answered that he would make 'no response' to letters addressed to 'Philip of Valois'; he taunted Edward with having done homage and sworn fealty to him, and informed him confidentially that he would expel him from French soil as and when he should find it convenient to do so.² In fact Philip had no reason to be in any hurry. Events were working for him all round. In Gascony his Lieutenant the Count of Lille-Jourdain was making rapid headway; besieging Bordeaux and Condom, and finding no one to withstand him;³ while the Scots, who had recovered Perth in the previous autumn, were once more beginning to visit England.⁴

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1340

Edward challenges.

Philip declines.

For nearly two months allies continued to press Tournay by blockade and bombardment. In the bombardment cannon were used side by side with the springals and mangonels of earlier warfare:⁵ churches and dwelling-houses alike were demolished, but no assault was attempted. Provisions inside the walls rose to famine prices; the country for leagues around was devastated; but no offer of surrender came in; the Brabanters allowed non-combatants to pass out, and occasionally allowed provisions to pass in.⁶ The Duke was grumbling for arrears of pay but Edward had nothing to give him.⁷ Philip on the other

¹ Le Bel, I. 181; Froissart, I. 115; Heming. Cont. II. 360.

² July 27 and 30; Grandes Chroniques, V. 397; July 26 and 30, Foed. II. 1131, a less correct copy. ³ Froissart, I. 112; Sismondi, X. 171; Martin, V. 34.

⁴ Murimuth, 109; Scalacr. 172; Froissart, sup.; Rot. Scot. I. 592, 603. Perth surrendered to Robert Stewart on the 17th August 1339.

⁵ "Engyngs oue poudres, feu rosée;" Chron. Lond. 79.

⁶ Froissart, I. 114, 120; Le Bel, I. 181.

⁷ Knighton, 2578; Heming. Cont. II. 360. Le Bel finds fault with the burghers of Brabant for their charitable action.

CHAP. XVI

1340

Truce of
Espléchin.

hand was aware that if the allies persevered for a few days longer Tournay must fall. In this emergency a saintly woman, Jeanne of Valois, dowager Countess of Hainault, was brought from the cloisters of Fontenelle to mediate between her brother and her sons-in-law.¹ With undisguised reluctance Edward bowed to the requirements of his allies.² After three days' discussion a truce was signed to last till Midsummer, 1341. Van Artevelde insisted on the inclusion of the Flemings in the arrangement, the benefits of which were also extended to the Scots, the Spaniards, and the Genoese.³ Thus ended the first "or Netherlandish period" of the Hundred Years' War. Apart from the victory of Sluys Edward's second campaign had been as great a failure as the first.

¹ Namely, Edward and Louis of Bavaria, and the Margrave of Juliers, who had married her daughters.

² Le Bel, I. 187-191; Heming. Cont. II. 360; Knighton, 2578; Froissart, I. 124-126; Chron. Lond. 81; Avesbury, 317.

³ Espléchin, 25th September; Foed. II. 1135; Murimuth, 116.

CHAPTER XVII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1340-1342

The King's return.—Attack on Archbishop Stratford.—Parliament.—Concessions granted and recalled.—Course of the War in Scotland.—Affairs in Brittany.—Disputed Succession.—War in Brittany.—Intervention of Edward and Philip.—Truce of Malestroit.

THE Flemings doubtless flattered themselves that they would retain their royal guest through another winter. But the King was sick of Flanders and Flemish creditors. Stealing away to the mouth of the Scheldt with Philippa, the Earl of Northampton, Walter Manny, and a few others in attendance, he took ship, and, after a rough passage of three days and three nights, landed at the Tower on the night of the 30th November 'about cockcrow'.¹ The King's return was quite unexpected, and his arrival at dead of night took all by surprise. He was in the worst of tempers, and ready to pounce on any victim. The courtiers had persuaded him that the insufficiency of the remittances from England must be due to malversation; Archbishop Stratford had already incurred the King's ill-will through his opposition to the war, and his enemies now made the most of their opportunity. The Constable of the Tower Nicholas de la Beche was unfortunately absent from his post. Edward ordered him to be arrested; then sending for the Mayor, Andrew Aubrey, he directed him to apprehend Richard Willoughby, late Chief Justice of the King's Bench, John Stonor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, William of Shareshull and John of Shardelowe, Judges, John of St. Paul, Master of the Rolls, the three Chief Clerks in Chancery, the Clerk of the Exchequer, and John Pulteney and William and Richard de la Pole, merchants. A few

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1340

Return to
England.

¹ Foed. II. 1141; Murimuth, 116.

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1340

Ministers
dismissed.

hours later Robert Stratford, Bishop of Chichester, was relieved of the Great Seal, and Roger Northburgh, Bishop of Coventry, turned out of the Treasury.¹ The Archbishop on hearing of the arrest of the judges and the disgrace of his brother took sanctuary at Canterbury.² No such ministerial crisis had been seen since 1289, when Edward I came home from the Continent discontented and in debt.³

The two Stratfords between them had held the Seal most of the time since Edward became his own master. Adam Orleton had retired from public life since his promotion to the See of Winchester; and Richard Aungerville likewise had declined ministerial appointments since he became Bishop of Durham; a bookish man, he most likely was not in favour of the war. Henry Burghersh of Lincoln, the leader of the war party, had been Treasurer from 1334 to 1337; but since then had been mostly abroad in attendance on the King, and in fact died, still abroad, on the 4th December.⁴ The Stratfords therefore had been responsible for the internal administration of the country during most of the reign. The Archbishop was commonly called 'The King's Major Domo'.⁵ The Seal was now committed to Robert Bouchier, a military man, and the first layman who ever was chancellor of England, the Treasury being committed to Robert Parning, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.⁶ By their orders searching inquests as to the acts and accounts of all Crown officials high and low, and all persons in any way connected with the collection of the taxes, or the dealings in wool, were instituted. Against

A lay
Chancellor.

¹ Murimuth, 117; Chron. Lond. 84; Barnes, 212; Foss. The De la Poles were sons of a rich merchant of Hull, and had given pecuniary aid to Edward and his father. William had been Pincerna Regis, and was the general agent of the Crown in dealings with mercantile men; he was commonly called "the King's Merchant"; Foss, III. 478. Pulteney also had been employed in transactions in wool; Foed. II. 1139. Sheriffs and minor officials were also extensively attacked; Chron. Lond. 87-89; Murimuth, 118.

² Birchington, Angl. Sacr. I. 21.

³ See Dawn of the Constitution, 361.

⁴ Reg. Sacr., 4 December 1340.

⁵ "Domini Regis Patricius." For the term see Ducange.

⁶ 14 December; Foed. 1142; Foss. The St. Albans writer, Hemmingburgh, Cont. II. 363, evidently thought the appointment of laymen scandalous.

some proceedings in Trailbaston and summary criminal proceedings were actually taken, a most unwarrantable course.¹

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1340

The Judges and officials arrested by the King's orders were not hardly dealt with. Nothing apparently was found against any of them, and, the King having recovered his temper, all were shortly more or less reinstated. Proceedings were also instituted against William de la Pole, but they were soon suspended, and he remained high in favour during the rest of his life.²

With the Archbishop a struggle ensued that for months engrossed the attention of the nation to the exclusion of all other matters. For his attack on the ex-chancellor the King selected a most ungenerous weapon. Stratford was one of those who in 1339 had given personal guarantees to foreign creditors for payment of the King's debts. Edward required the Archbishop to betake himself to Flanders, and place himself in the hands of those persons.³ Declining all invitations to a personal interview,⁴ the Primate answered with a paternal exhortation to the King to observe his coronation oath, and hold his church and people in good peace. On the 29th December, St. Thomas of Canterbury's day, Stratford preached a violent sermon in the spirit of the Saint, bewailing his past attention to worldly matters, and holding himself out for the future as a champion of ecclesiastical and constitutional rights. By way of a beginning, and with evident reference to the recent arrests, he excommunicated all infringers of Magna Carta.⁵ Three days later, as the King's spiritual father, he addressed a long homily to him, making pointed reference to the cases of Rehoboam and Edward II, and, more covertly, to that of Mortimer: he begged Edward to summon a Parliament, offering to stand by the judgement of his Peers in all things, 'saving the rights of the Church and his Order'.⁶ Pressing his attack he delivered

King v.
Arch-
bishop.

¹ See Chron. Lond. 88, 89.

² See Foss.

³ The Earl of Derby was actually abroad detained for the King's liabilities; Foed. sup.

⁴ Heming. Cont. II. 384, 385.

⁵ Angl. Sacr. I. 21, 22.

⁶ 1st January 1341. In the original French, Avesbury, 324.

CHAP. XVII

1341

three further utterances in the same spirit: he wrote to Bouchier the new Chancellor complaining that the clergy were being called on to pay both Tenths and Ninths, and demanding redress, under threat of ecclesiastical censures; ¹ he wrote to the King and Council requesting the immediate liberation of the Chancery clerks, and other persons illegally arrested, under penalty of a sentence 'from which he could only excuse the King, the Queen and their children, so far as they could rightly be excused from it'; ² he wrote to the new Bishop of London ³ ordering him to prevent the double exaction of Tenths and Ninths; while finally he directed his suffragans to promulgate the excommunications previously threatened. He ended with a very apposite reference to the original Charter of Henry I, the actual words being quoted.⁴

*Libellus
Famosus.*

Stratford's boldness shows the estimate of Edward's strength of character formed by his subjects. Of course he was furious. He put forth in answer "a sort of pamphlet" addressed to the bishops and chapters of the Province of Canterbury, and known as the *Libellus Famosus*. In this he audaciously laid the whole responsibility for the war and its failure on the Archbishop; Stratford had 'talked him into it',⁵ assuring him that the available means would be ample, and ample they would have proved, said Edward, if only they had been faithfully administered. Disappointed of the supplies that he had been led to expect, the King had been obliged to borrow at usurious interest; and finally to abandon a most promising undertaking, and sign an ignominious truce. His friends, the sharers of his tribulations, had insisted on the dismissal of those guilty negligent servants. Waxing abusive, Edward continued; 'the Archbishop, that wily serpent, that cunning fox, that notorious hireling,' nefariously pretending to have discovered attacks on the rights of the Church, attacks

¹ 28th January, Heming. C. II. 367; Walsingham, I. 234.

² Heming. 369; Walsingham, 235.

³ Ralph Stratford, elected 28th January and not yet consecrated.

⁴ Heming. 371, 375; Walsingham, 237, 240.

⁵ "Importuna instantia persuasit."

probably invented by himself, had been reviving old excommunications in order to blacken the King's fair fame. In self-defence therefore the King proposed to publish details of the extravagance, malversation and corruption, through which, during his minority, the Crown revenues had been dissipated and reduced to nothing.¹ Here the King threatens to call for accounts, the weapon with which Henry II had attacked Becket. On the whole the *Libellus* is a mere tissue of calumny and misrepresentation disgraceful to the King.

Stratford published an elaborate and conclusive answer. He had not led the King into his difficulties: he had not received his money: the proceeds of the last grant had been assigned to the King's creditors before ever it was voted. 'Saving his Estate and Order' he was ready to answer every charge brought against him.² The King failed to adduce any new facts in support of his charges, merely replying with a weak abusive letter.³

On Monday 23rd April a Parliament met at Westminster; ^{Stratford's answer.} to witness a most amusing game of hide-and-seek between King and Archbishop.

The Archbishop left his sanctuary under royal safe-conduct and came to Lambeth. On the 24th April, the first day of actual business, he presented himself at Westminster; the Bishops of London and Chichester, with an array of clergymen and esquires, supported him. At the door of Westminster Hall he was met by the Steward of the Household, Ralph Lord Stafford, who informed him that he must first appear before the Court of Exchequer, to answer the King's charges. With some demur he complied. After hearing the charges, he made his way to the Painted Chamber, where the Peers would meet, but found only two bishops to whom he explained his views of the situation. The King

¹ 10 February, Avesbury, 330; where we are told that the document was attributed to Adam Orleton, who hated Stratford; Foed. II. 1147.

² Angl. Sacr. I. 27-36. The document is most vigorous and incisive, quite refreshing to read.

³ 31 March, Angl. Sacr. I. 36, &c.; Foed. 1154.

⁴ Lords' Report, Rot. Parlt.

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1341

Privileges
of Peers.

withholding his presence the sitting was adjourned to the morrow. On the 25th Edward again declined to meet the Archbishop, and nothing was done; on the 26th the Primate was engaged in the Court of Exchequer, putting in his answer, and the King allowed business to begin. Parliament was informed that the King intended to carry on the war, and begged that the Ninth for the second year might be collected at once. On Friday the 27th April the Archbishop again forced his way into the Painted Chamber, and the course of business was again suspended. Adam Orleton and the Chancellor brought a message from the King advising Stratford to submit, and the Bishop took the opportunity of explaining that he was *not* the author of the '*Libellus Famosus*'. So matters went on for another week, the Archbishop persisting in taking his place, and business in consequence being kept at a standstill. "The barons watched the contest with sympathetic interest."¹ Sunday 29th April being a day of rest, the King's agents endeavoured to raise a movement against the Archbishop in the City. On the Monday articles were exhibited against him in the House of Commons. On Tuesday and Wednesday (1st and 2nd May) Stratford offered to 'purge' himself in Parliament, but the King's friends would not let him speak. On the 3rd May a committee of twelve lords spiritual and temporal was chosen to advise the King on the point whether Peers were liable to answer out of Parliament or not.² On Monday 7th May the lords reported that on no account should Peers, whether ministers or not, be brought to trial, lose their possessions, 'or be bound to answer, or be judged, except in full Parliament, and before their peers.'³ With this declaration in his favour the Archbishop "could afford to be humble"; and the King, "aware that unless he temporised he would get no money, determined to be gracious." A formal reconciliation ensued. Stratford asked to be allowed to clear his character before Parliament;

¹ See the strong language attributed to Earl Warenne; Chron. Lond. 90.

² Birchington, sup. 38-41; Rot. Parl. II. 126, &c.

³ Rot. Parl. 127.

the King assented ; ¹ and there the personal struggle ended. CHAP. XVII
 The Archbishop, however, had not only got the best of it, but
 he had been the means of securing for the Peers an important
 privilege that events had shown to be necessary.² More-
 over Parliament felt encouraged to improve the opportunity.
 The King having asked for advice as to the collection of
 the second year of the Ninths, each Estate presented a bill
 of conditions. The commons complained of recent arrests,
 and the special commissions of 'trailbaston', as infringements
 of the Charter ; they required that the judges and
 officers of the Crown should be sworn to observe the Charter
 and other statutes ; and that the old Crown debts remitted
 in the previous year should not be exacted. The Lords and
 Commons joined in demanding that commissioners should
 be appointed to audit the public accounts ; that the
 Chancellor, Treasurer and Chief Justices should be appointed
 in Parliament ; and that all the concessions made in return
 for the Ninths should be observed point for point. The
 clergy likewise had their demands to make.³ The King
 sent answers which were returned to him as insufficient ;
 eventually he gave way on all points, consenting to confirm
 the privilege of Peers, even granting the petition of the
 Commons. "The two chief points, the examination of
 accounts, and the nomination of ministers, are distinctly
 granted."⁴ In return for those concessions 30,000 sacks of
 wool were granted as an equivalent for the Ninths of the
 second year.⁵

Constitu-
tional
demands

granted.

The Parliament of 1341 is of importance rather as giving

¹ Rot. Parl., sup.

² Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 408. The reader may compare the result of the struggle between Edward I and Archbishop Winchelsey ; Dawn, 437, 474, 502.

³ Rot. Parl. II. 128, 129.

⁴ Id. 129-133 ; Statutes, I. 295, 15 Edw. III, st. 1 ; Stubbs, I. 409. The appointments of Justices of the superior courts and Barons of the Exchequer were excepted. Murimuth, a very accurate writer, considered that the King had granted responsibility to Parliament, but not appointment by Parliament ; p. 113 : the article relating to the examination of accounts is not enrolled among the statutes.

⁵ Orders were issued for raising 30,000 sacks of wool rateably : but it would seem he 20,000 sacks raised in the previous year were to be taken into account, so that the new grant only amounted to 10,000 sacks. See Rot. Parl. II. 131, 133, ss. 55, 56, and 140, s. 27 ; Statutes, I. 297, 15 Edw. III, st. 3.

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1341

Concession
cancelled.Philip,
Benedict,
and Louis.

a fresh enunciation of the rights claimed by the nation, than as marking an era of definite progress won. What Edward had so lightly granted he could as lightly withdraw. As a necessary formality, the Articles demanded by Parliament and granted by the King had to be reduced to the shape of a statute; to that statute the King gave his formal assent;¹ but the Chancellor Treasurer and Chief Justices pretended to withhold theirs; on the ground that the new concessions were inconsistent with the laws that they had sworn to observe. "Under the shadow of this protest" Edward four months later informed the nation that the 'pretended statute' must be cancelled, as inconsistent with 'the customs of the realm and the royal prerogative'; in allowing the so-called statute to be sealed he had in fact but 'dissembled, as was fitting, to avoid the dangers attendant on a refusal'.²

John, Henry III, Edward I, and Edward II each in his turn had broken his word under similar circumstances: but not one of them proclaimed the fact with such easy effrontery as the Third Edward. "He did not even wait for Papal absolution for he had taken no oath."³

The constitutional struggle at home made the resumption of hostilities with France impossible. The King had to submit to an extension of the truce for another year.⁴

Philip had succeeded in detaching the Emperor from his English alliance by the offer of his good offices at Avignon towards obtaining the desired absolution. The petition to the Pope was addressed in such a cavalier style that Benedict felt bound to refuse the absolution that otherwise he would gladly have given.⁵ But Philip's ends were doubly served: the grant of the Imperial Vicarship to

¹ Statutes, I. 295; Rot. Parl. II. 132.

² 1st October; "Ad evitandum pericula quae ex ipsius (sc. statuti) denegatione tunc timebantur . . . dissimulavimus, sicut oportuit et praetensum statutum sigillari permisimus illa vice," &c; Foed. II. 1177; Statutes, I. 297, 15 Edw. III, st 2.

³ Bp. Stubbs, sup., and 411.

⁴ Foed. II. 1165, 1175, 1177.

⁵ A treaty was made between Philip and the Emperor on the 24th January 1341; Pauli, II. 383, citing Böhmer, Reg. Imp. 134. See Sismondi, X. 181; Milman, V. 496.

Edward had been recalled : ¹ while the unshriven Emperor CHAP. XVII
 was still kept " tied and bound with the chain of his sins ". 1341
 For the purpose of war against France the recall of the
 Vicarship deprived the Netherlandish alliances of all value
 for the King of England.

But if Edward's allies fell off his foes remained. Three
 weeks before the Imperial Vicarship was recalled David
 Bruce and his consort Jeanne had returned to Scotland,
 landing at Inverbervie in Kincardineshire.² Bit by bit Scottish
affairs.
 the Scots had recovered the command of their country.
 Edinburgh had been won in April ; something like order—
 some semblance of peace and plenty—had been restored to
 the weary land. The Scottish Estates therefore thought
 themselves justified in recalling their King, and he came at
 their bidding. Philip doubtless gave his entire consent.
 But for some months the young King again had to be kept
 in the North.

Since 1337 the course of the struggle had been very
 similar to that during the three years preceding the
 battle of Bannockburn. When the Regent Andrew Murray
 of Bothwell died in 1338, he had reduced the effectual
 domain of the English to the strongholds of Perth,
 Coupar-Fife, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh. In the
 struggle to achieve that result he had reduced the land to
 a wilderness. Those who fell by the sword were as nothing
 to those who succumbed to hunger. Dark tales of cannibalism
 were told. Herds of wild deer ventured to approach
 the walls of Perth.³ The great event of the year (1338) was
 the defence of Dunbar, besieged by the Earls of Salisbury
 and Arundel, as already mentioned. From January to Defence of
Dunbar.
 June the castle was defended by its countess ' Blak Annas ',
 Dunbar.

¹ 25th June 1341 ; Foed. II. 1166 ; Avesbury, 336, 337, with Edward's answer declining Louis's offer of mediation.

² 2nd June ; Fordun ; cf. H. Knighton, 2580 ; Lanercost, 335 ; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, I. 482, 506.

³ Fordun ; Wyntoun, II. 216, 236 ; Scotichr. II. 331. From the 14th March to the 14th December 1331 the receipts of the Chamberlain of Scotland amounted to £3,774 ; from the 22nd May 1341 to the 11th June 1342 they only amounted to £1,198 ; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, I. 393, 499.

CHAP. XVII

1338

with a spirit worthy of a daughter of Thomas Randolf. We cannot enter on the chivalrous incidents of the struggle,¹ or stop to tell how Montagu hurled stony 'love tokens' at his fair foe; and how the Countess wiped off the dust of the crumbling battlements with her 'napkin'.

"I wowe to God scho mais gret stere
The Scottis wenche ploddere
Come I are, com I late
I fand Annot at the yhate."²

Occasional supplies introduced by sea enabled the Countess to hold out.³ With a heavy heart Salisbury relinquished his prize, to carry his sword to an undertaking which he foresaw would be 'very costly and of small profit'.⁴ Balliol had been allowed to act as English commander-in-chief, with his head-quarters at Perth. In August (1338) Perth was placed in the hands of a stout Yorkshire knight, Thomas Uhtred, in whom Edward felt greater confidence.⁵ But Uhtred, with all his gallantry, could not maintain his position in so distant an outpost. On the 17th August 1339 he surrendered to the new Regent Robert Stewart. French auxiliaries assisted in the siege.⁶ About the same time William Bullock, Balliol's Chamberlain, was induced to betray Coupar.⁷ All these three years (1338, 1339, 1340) the English were obliged to import the commonest necessities for their slender garrisons, and the garrisons themselves were only kept up by impressing felons, 'grithmen', and other ruffians.⁸

Scots
recover
Perth.

The last achievement before the King's return was the recovery of Edinburgh Castle. The capture was effected by William Douglas and William Bullock, by a stratagem similar to that by which Linlithgow had been taken in

¹ See Scotichr. II. 324; Wyntoun, II. 207, &c.

² Wyntoun, 213. Plodder=fighter.

³ See Fordun; Heming. Cont. II. 315; Lanercost, 295; Scotichr. II. 324; Rot. Scot. I. 522, 526, 533.

⁴ So Grey, Scalacr. 168.

⁵ Foed. II. 1053.

⁶ Fordun; Scotichr. II. 330. Cf. Foed. 1094; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, I. 507.

⁷ Fordun.

⁸ See Rot. Scot. passim; Foed. 1203, &c.

1313. Walter Curry, the captain of a Dundee merchant-CHAP. XVII
man, was sent to the castle by night, offering wine and
other supplies from England; an appointment was made
with the garrison for the introduction of the goods at day-
break on the morrow. While the gate-way was obstructed
by a couple of pack-animals, Douglas and his men rushed
in and the place was taken.¹ This success was followed
some months later by the surrender of Stirling.² The
English government, however, was now stirred to action.
Balliol was appointed to take measures of defence on the
Marches, while the Earl of Derby was authorized to treat:
later still, in December, the King himself, leaving his
hunting and his tournaments, betook himself once more
to the scene of action.³ Christmas was spent at Melrose.
The feast over, the King rode through part of the Forest of
Ettrick 'in a very ill season'. The Scots, however, persisted
in keeping out of reach. Edward was much mortified,
and his attendants, to console him, arranged an amicable
joust, that was held in his presence between the Earl of
Derby and the Douglas (William). 'So deftly in all gentle
deeds did the Earl of Derby ever bear himself that all men
blessed his name.'⁴ Douglas was wounded in the hand by a
splinter from his own lance, but no other casualty occurred;
and the King turned homewards 'half in a melancholy
with those who had advised him upon that journey'.⁵

Edinburgh
and
Stirling.

Invasion
of
Scotland.

Negotiations for a truce were opened, but the Scots

¹ 17 April 1341; Fordun; Wyntoun, II. 239; Scotichr. II. 332; Le Bel, I. 253; Froissart; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, I. clvii.

² Scotichr. II. 331; Rot. Scot. I. 609. The last succours for Stirling were ordered on the 1st June; the place must have fallen between May 1341 and June 1342; Excheq. Rolls Scotland.

³ Murimuth, 123; Foed. Rot. Scot. For tournaments see Murimuth, 117 margin.

⁴ "Ita gratiose in omnibus operibus humanitatis se gerebat, quod omnes de eo audientes gloriam et honorem differebant;" Knighton.

⁵ Scalacr. 299 (Leland's translation); Knighton, 2580; Scotichr. II. 329; Foed. A return tournament was held at Berwick in which two knights on each side were killed; Scotichr. sup., and especially Wyntoun, II. 220, the fullest account, but given as under the year 1338. The King's 'melancholy' may have been partly due to the rejection of his suit by the Countess of Salisbury. See Le Bel, I. 263.

CHAP. XVII

1342

Fall of
Roxburgh.

persisted in hostilities. About Candlemas 1342 they made a 'road' into Northumberland 'and brent much corn and houses'.¹ On Easter morn, at daybreak, the liberation of Scottish territory was consummated by Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, who crowned a brilliant career by taking Roxburgh castle by escalade.² The freedom of Scotland was now secured. "From a war of conquest and patriotic resistance the struggle died into a petty strife between angry neighbours, a mere episode in the larger contest between England and France."³

: So far the English had never thought of attacking France except from Flanders or Guienne. Ponthieu, which was theirs, did not seem to offer a sufficient basis of operations. The passage to Bordeaux was long and dangerous; while the attack from Flanders had signally failed. Suddenly a "new and most desirable door was opened into the very heart of France". Of all the great French feudatories none had maintained so independent a position as the Dukes of Brittany. Peers of France by virtue of their duchy, linked with England by the earldom of Richmond, they had succeeded to a certain extent in playing off the one allegiance against the other. John III had supported Philip in the campaigns of 1339 and 1340 but Edward had not ventured to take offence.⁴ On his return from the campaign of 1340 the Duke died.⁵ A disputed succession ensued. Arthur II, Duke of Brittany, was twice married. By his first wife, Marie of Limoges, he had two sons, John III and Guy Count of Penthievre. By his second wife, Yolande of Dreux, he left another son, also named John, who became Count of Montfort l'Amauri in right of his mother. John III had no child: his brother Guy died

¹ Rot. Scot. I. 621; Scalacr., sup. Cf. Le Bel, II. 9.

² 31 March 1342; Fordun. David gave the sheriffdom of Teviotdale to Alexander as a reward. William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, thought the office due to himself; he seized the unfortunate Ramsay in full county court at Hawick, carried him off to Hermitage Castle, and starved him to death; Scotichr. II. 334.

³ J. R. Green, I. 402.

⁴ See Sismondi, X. 184; Foed. II. 1149; Lobineau, Bretagne, I. 310.

⁵ 30 April 1341; Froissart, I. 127 note.

before him, namely in 1331, leaving a daughter, Jeanne Countess of Penthievre.¹ John III to keep the succession from going to his half-brother, whom he hated, married his niece Jeanne to Charles of Blois, nephew to Philip VI, so as to secure the King's interest against the de Montfort.² At the death of Duke John both de Montfort and Charles laid claim to the duchy.³ According to clear precedents, female succession and representation had both been recognized in Brittany. But the "Salique" law, and Philip's decisions had thrown everything into confusion. De Montfort asserted the principle by which Philip held the crown. Charles of Blois cited the precedent in the case of Artois. De Montfort was the first in the field: he seized his brother's treasures: the clergy and people were on the whole in his favour: Brest, Rennes, Hennebont, Vannes and Auray yielded to his arms.⁴ Charles on the other hand appealed to the Parliament of Paris, and obtained a decree without difficulty.⁵

De Montfort then turned to the King of England, who immediately gave him the investiture of Richmond, receiving in return recognition as King of France.⁶

With truly comic inconsistency Philip supported the man who challenged the Salic law; Edward backed the man who resisted female succession.

A deplorable war of more than twenty years' duration between the competitors ensued; promptly merged in the great struggle between England and France, it made the Hundred Years' War possible. Philip took no 'official' part in the war; but his son John of Normandy and his

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1342
The Breton War.

¹ See Lobineau, I. 281, 296, 300, 305; Grandes Chroniques, V. 412.

² Lobineau, 309; De Nangis, Cont. sup., 105. Charles was younger son of Guy, Count of Blois, by Marguerite of Valois, sister to the King; Froissart, I. 128 note. See Sismondi, X. 107.

³ Le Bel, I. 227; Froissart, 128.

⁴ Le Bel, 228-237; Froissart, 128-130; De Nangis, Cont.; Lobineau, 309, 311, &c.

⁵ 7 September 1341; Lobineau, 314, 315; Le Bel, 239, &c. See Lavis, IV. 48-50.

⁶ 24 September 1341; Foed. II. 1176. For the disposition of parties in Brittany, see Lavis, sup.

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brother the Count of Alençon joined de Blois; reduced Ancenis, and then laid siege to the good city of Nantes on the Loire, where de Montfort was established (2 November). A bold attempt by the garrison to cut off a convoy of supplies for the besiegers resulted in the loss of some 200 prisoners left in the hands of the French. The burghers, to rescue their friends, signed a convention. The details are involved in doubt; all that is certain is that the place surrendered before the 21st November, and that de Montfort was carried off a prisoner to the Louvre.¹ But this was far from ending the war. John's Countess, Margaret of Flanders, sister to Count Louis, a woman who had 'the courage of a man and the heart of a lion',² donned her husband's armour and became "the head and soul of the war". She encouraged the men of Rennes by exhibiting to them her infant son, two years old, and then established herself at Hennebont (Morbihan) to await succour from England.³

Edward began to talk of sending succour as soon as he had sealed his treaty with de Montfort.⁴ But the winter campaign in Scotland came in the way. After his return from the North serious preparations were begun. Levies were ordered from Wales and Ireland. England was invited to send volunteers, the King doubtless hesitating to impress Englishmen for a mere private war between two competitors for a foreign duchy.⁵ At last, late in March 1342, Walter Manny was appointed to take over a relief force. Wind and weather detained him nearly two months; arriving in May, he found that Rennes had already fallen, and that the heroic Countess was reduced to the last extremity at Hennebont. Negotiations for a surrender had been opened; the Countess was begging for delay from hour to hour, when from her window in the castle she descried the white sails of the English fleet. Joyfully she proclaimed the fact. '*Le secours! Le secours!*'

¹ Le Bel, I. 243-247; Froissart, I. 136-138; Lavissee, IV. 51.

² Le Bel.

³ Le Bel, 248; Kitchin, France.

⁴ Foed. II. 1177, 1181.

⁵ Id. 1187-1193, &c.

Manny landed and raised the siege, but he was too weak to venture far into the interior. He signed a truce till All Saints' Day, subject to Edward's approval, and returned home¹ (July). But the King was not at all inclined for peace, the Erpléchin truce, renewed for a year, having expired at Midsummer. Another expedition under the Earl of Northampton and Robert of Artois was at once sent out to keep the flames alive.² The King's own departure underwent the usual delay. After expressing a firm purpose of sailing in August, he did not appear on the coast of Kent till the 5th October;³ and then he found no shipping ready. He marched down the coast to Portsmouth, and eventually sailed on the 23rd October, entering the harbour of Brest on the fourth day.⁴ With his arrival the balance was sensibly turned.

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Edward in
Brittany.

Northampton was there to receive him. After scoring considerable successes, he had been obliged to fall back on his landing-place. On the 18th August he had landed near Brest, to find the Duchess of Brittany closely besieged by Charles of Blois. The place was relieved, and the French driven off with heavy loss; in their retreat they abandoned La Forêt (between Brest and Landerneau), which was immediately occupied by the English. Northampton then advanced to Morlaix, which he attempted to carry by storm, but was repulsed. He remained there, however, blockading the place till the 30th September, when, being apprised of the coming of Charles of Blois, with an imposing force of men-at-arms, Genoese crossbowmen and footmen

Action at
Morlaix.

¹ See Foed. II. 1187; Murimuth, 125; Le Bel, I. 279-317; Froissart, I. 147-163; Lobineau, I. 322.

² The force sailed on the 14th August; Murimuth, sup.; Foed. 1201, 1204, 1209; Knighton, 2581.

³ Foed. 1203, 1212.

⁴ Murimuth, 128; and Wardrobe Accounts cited Pauli. In the course of the week ending 19th October, £61,000 were drawn from the Exchequer for the military chest, the money being found by William de la Pole and Company; Pell Issue Roll, Mich., 17 Edw. III. As the item does not appear in the corresponding place on the Receipt Roll I could not ascertain whether the money was ever repaid or not. £3,000 each were paid to Juliers and Guelders. The Lavisser writer, still believing in chroniclers' figures, gives Edward 13,000 men, and the French 50,000 men, p. 53; 13,000 men in one body were never shipped by any King of England in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

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he went out to meet him, and took up a defensive position between Morlaix and Lanmeur, in front of a wood, on foot: he even found time to protect his front with hidden pitfalls, *à la* Bannockburn. These proved fatal to the charge of the French mounted men-at-arms; but the other corps, encouraged by their superior numbers, kept up a desperate conflict, and three successive assaults had to be sustained before the enemy was disposed of. The battle was held one of the hardest fought actions of Edward's reign.¹ In spite of this success, however, Northampton had to retreat and fall back on Brest.

With Edward's appearance affairs assumed a new aspect. Ploermel, Rohan and Malestroit yielded to him. Simultaneous sieges were laid to Rennes, Vannes and Nantes. Vannes had been taken by Robert of Artois, and again lost by him: on the latter occasion he received a wound of which he died—"the stormy petrel of the Hundred Years' War."² The King kept revolving round the leading points of attack, encouraging his men. Striking north from Rennes he attacked and stormed Dinan, and then returned again to the siege of Vannes. An English writer claims for the King the unusual merit of having abstained from wanton destruction.³

Meanwhile the Duke of Normandy had gathered a great host at Angers. Edward called in his troops from all sides, and entrenched himself round Vannes, to await the French attack. Philip had joined his son, so that the conflict was no longer a Breton affair, but full-dress Anglo-French war. The French, however, did not venture to attack the English in their position; but their superiority in numbers enabled them practically to blockade them, in a cramped position on the coast. The weather was most inclement; it rained day and night; provisions were scarce; foraging parties could not venture out except in force; supplies by sea were

¹ Murimuth, 126, 127; Knighton, 2581, 2582; Baker, 76 (under 1345); A. de la Borderie, *Hist. Bretagne*, III. 466.

² Froissart, I. 171; Le Bel, II. 17, 22; Knighton, 2582; Kitchin, France.

³ See the letter of the 5th December from Edward to his son, Avesbury, 340; also Murimuth, 129; Froissart, 171-176; Le Bel and Knighton, *sup.*

cut off by a French fleet under a Doria, a Grimaldi and Louis de la Cerda. The disciplined endurance of a modern army would undoubtedly have inflicted a signal disaster on the English; but the French *noblesse* could not stand the discomfort, and the cold, and the losses of horseflesh. The voice of Papal mediation could thus make itself heard.¹ On the 25th of April 1342 Benedict XII had died. On the 5th May a successor was elected—of course a Frenchman. The choice of the Cardinals fell on Pierre Roger, now Archbishop of Rouen; he was crowned on the 19th May, Whitsunday, and took the name of Clement VI.² Opposed to his predecessor on almost every other point, he had nevertheless, like him, striven to maintain peace between England and France. Since the beginning of December the Cardinals Pierre des Prez and Annibale Cecano had been hovering on the flanks of the contending armies. On the 19th January 1343 a treaty was signed at Malestroit (Morbihan)—a place chosen by the King of England.³ The Kings of England and France agreed to a truce, to last till Michaelmas, and for three years from thence. In the meantime they undertook to send envoys to argue all questions before the Pope ‘but not for his sentence or decision’.⁴ The truce was arranged to extend to Scotland, Hainault and Flanders and all allies; as far as possible the *status quo* was to be maintained in Brittany and Gascony; while de Montfort would be set free on condition of keeping out of Brittany. As it was morally certain that the partisans of the two claimants would not abstain from hostilities, it was added, very wisely, that breaches of the truce in Brittany should not involve war elsewhere.⁵

A new
Pope.

Truce of
Malestroit.

¹ Froissart, I. 177.

² H. Nicolas. Murimuth, 124, gives the date of the election as the 6th May, and the day of the death of Benedict as 24th April. For Pierre Roger see above, p. 200.

³ See Edward's letter, Avesbury, sup. As early as the 8th August 1342 the advent of the cardinals had been threatened; Foed. II. 1208, 1215.

⁴ “Noun pas a fin de decisioun, et de doner sentence, mais pur faire meillour pees et trete.”

⁵ See the treaty in French, Avesbury, 244; in Latin, Murimuth, 129; Lanercost, 335; Lavissee, IV. 53. The truce was proclaimed in London, 20th February; Foed. 1219.

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With the truce of Malestroit ended the first and most spirited part of the Breton war. Charles of Blois held Rennes and Nantes, with the control of Upper Brittany or the more Frenchified part of the Duchy; de Montfort's followers being masters of the districts of Léon and La Cornouaille, and the greater part of Lower Brittany, *Bretagne Bretonnante*. These positions in the main were retained throughout the rest of the war.¹

Return to
England.

Edward's forces were at once disbanded. Most of the men preferred the overland route 'through France'. The King, however, committed himself to the sea, to encounter a lengthy, stormy, and dangerous passage. On the 2nd March he landed at Weymouth; his fleet had been scattered, and one vessel lost. The Duchess of Brittany and her son, who accompanied the King, landed at Exmouth. On the 4th March Edward reached the Tower, where the Queen was staying.² In his peril Edward had vowed a pilgrimage to Canterbury, on foot, with pious visits to Wolsingham and other shrines. These pledges were now scrupulously redeemed.³

¹ Lavissee, sup.

² Murimuth, 135; Avesbury, 352; Lanercost, 340. According to Knighton, 2582, Edward was actually driven away southwards at first.

³ Murimuth, sup.

CHAPTER XVIII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1343-1345

Parliament.—Constitutional struggles.—Papal aggression.—Order of the Garter
Parliament.—Clerical immunities.—The King's indebtedness.—Fall of Philip
van Artevelde.—Campaigns of Earl of Derby in Gascony.

ON the 28th April 1343 a session of Parliament was opened at Westminster. Stratford had been fully restored to favour, and entered the Painted Chamber in confidential attendance on the King. The treaty of Malestroit was laid before the Houses, the King pointing out that the reference to the Pope was made as to a common friend (*meen amy*), and not to a judge or arbiter. Both Lords and Commons signified their approval; the Commons adding that if the reference should not lead to an honourable and durable peace, they would give the King their aid in maintaining his 'quarrel'.¹ Home questions were then introduced, such as the administration of justice, brigandage, wool transactions, taxation of foreign merchants, and the currency.

A petition of thirty-five articles was presented by the Commons embracing a great range of subjects legal and constitutional.² As might be anticipated the first demand was for the re-enactment of the cancelled Act of 1341. The second article requests the King to withdraw the surtax of 40s. on the sack of wool granted in 1336 by the merchants, without the concurrence of the Commons, and still levied, without their consent, in addition always to the legitimate *Antiqua Custuma* of 6s. 8d. the sack.³ Other articles prove that the Commons had lost sight of none of the ends towards which the Act of 1341 was directed. The King, however, held firm. The price of wool he said was now fixed by statute, and therefore could not be affected by the *maletote*;⁴

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Parliament.

Fruitless
struggle.

¹ Rot. Parl. II. 135, 136.

² Id. 139-143.

³ Id. 140.

⁴ Id. 138, 140; Foed. II. 1225. The minimum rates fixed at Northampton

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the Act of 1341 had been revoked because the King found it in several points inconsistent with his coronation oath, and 'blemishing' to the Crown; any points that were profitable and good he would willingly see re-enacted. The result was, that a formal repeal of the Act, and a Parliamentary grant of the surtax for three and a half years were published.¹ It is probable that if in either case the Commons gave any consent at all, they gave it 'very reluctantly', and only to save the appearance of defeat.

Resolutions were adopted for the issue of a gold coinage, as a basis for trade with Flanders; and for a reissue of silver coin of the old standards, for home circulation.² The proceedings against Archbishop Stratford were formally quashed, and the Heir Apparent created Prince of Wales.³

Papal aggression.

One point there was on which the King and his Estates could heartily agree; and that was the necessity of resisting Papal inroads on ecclesiastical patronage. The usurpations that had provoked the remonstrances of all England one hundred years before, had not diminished. Nay, the evil "had vastly increased since the beginning of the century". Clement VI threatened to outdo all his predecessors. He had offered to find preferment for all poor clergy who should present themselves at Avignon within two months.⁴ The

in 1336 were now raised from £20 to £100 per cent.; Rot. Parl. II. 138. The merchants next year petitioned against the fixing of prices, and the attempt was abandoned.

¹ Rot. Parl. 138, 139. The merchants begged to be excused half of this tax till they had been repaid for wool seized by the King at Dordrecht, a fresh piece of iniquity that has yet to be cleared up; Id. 143. We now find the opprobrious term *maletote* applied to a legal impost.

² Id. 137; Statutes, I. 299. The King carried out the latter suggestion by subjecting the silver penny, already debased in 1300, to a further loss, making in all a reduction of about 10 per cent.; Rogers, Prices, I. 174. In accordance with the former suggestion, gold pieces, the first struck since the Conquest, except the abortive issue of 1257, were produced, rated at 6s., 3s., and 1s. 6d. respectively, and known as 'Noble' pence, halfpence, and farthings. But these coins were recalled and fresh 'nobles' worth 6s. 8d., 3s. 4d., and 1s. 8d. issued in 1344; Ruding, Annals of Mint, I. 217, 218. See below, II. 240.

³ Rot. Parl. 129; Murimuth, 136.

⁴ Milman, V. 498; compare the King's protest of the 5th July 1342; Foed. II. 1208.

intimate connexion of the Court of Avignon with that of Paris made these encroachments doubly galling and doubly dangerous. Stratford and the clergy, however, kept in the background, doubtless from prudential considerations.¹ Possibly the Archbishop remembered that he and half the existing Episcopate had been indebted for promotion to Papal 'Provisions'. But the Commons spoke out vigorously. By the bestowal of English patronage upon foreigners the flow of charity at home was impeded, they said; English money was exported for the support of the King's enemies; and the 'nakedness of the land' in general made known to all the world: two Cardinals had already received preferment to the value of 2,000 marks. The King declared his entire concurrence in the sentiments of his lieges, and suggested that a remonstrance should be addressed to the Pope, in the name of the laity.² At the request of another petition on the same subject the Statute of Carlisle of 1307 was produced and read aloud.³ In accordance with the King's suggestion a petition, very respectful in language, but firm in tone, was addressed to Avignon, complaining of the evil 'now more prevalent than formerly' of the intrusion of strangers, ignorant of the language and the habits of the people. The petitioners dwell on the consequent evils and scandals, 'which evils very holiest father (*tres sentisme pere*) we neither can nor ought to suffer and endure'; they insist upon a cessation of all reservations, provisions, or collations; and they request a speedy answer, 'as on no account will they rest till they have obtained due remedy and correction in such cases.'⁴ Clearly the day could not be far distant when the

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Protest
of the
Commons.

¹ Murimuth, 138. Clement, however, regarded Stratford as the originator of the outcry; Id. (ed. Hog), 153; Foed. II. 1232. But there can be no doubt as to the feelings of the English clergy on the subject. See the letter of Bishop Bury to Clement, Northern Registers, 382; Knighton, 2583; and the careful review, Murimuth, 173-176 (ed. Thompson).

² Rot. Parl. II. 141.

³ Rot. Parl. 144. The statute as there given seems to condemn Provisions much more distinctly than the original text in the Statute Book does. Hallam suggests either "wilful suppression" in the one case, or "wilful interpolation" in the other case; Mid. Ages, II. 236. Presumably the former.

⁴ Given in full Parliament, 18 May; Murimuth, 138; Avesbury, 353; Heming.

CHAP. XVIII nation would take effectual measures for stopping the evil, but for the moment the Pope treated its remonstrances with supreme contempt. A series of further usurpations followed, King and ambitious clergymen alike finding it convenient to invoke the aid of the supreme spiritual authority.

1343

Tournaments.

No English king ever encouraged tournaments to such an extent as Edward III; still forbidden without Royal leave,¹ the Royal leave and the Royal presence could be secured whenever a tournament could be got up.² The old moral and political objections seemed to have died out. In the eyes of the King tournaments were simply legitimate opportunities for chivalrous display, and courtly revelry. The year 1344 opened with a tournament of unusual splendour held at Windsor. All the ladies of England of any position, including the wives of the chief citizens of London, had been invited. The festivities began on Sunday 18th January with a grand banquet, at which the ladies, headed by Queens Philippa and Isabelle, dined with the King in hall. Of all the assembled men only two French knights had seats found for them in the hall; the Prince of Wales and the rest of the male sex being entertained in a marquee outside. A ball followed in the evening. For three days Edward with nineteen others held the lists against all the world. On the side of the challengers the palm of distinction, naturally, was adjudged to the King. Of the all-comers Miles Stapleton, Philip Despenser, and John Blount were held each to have done best on one of

Cont. II. 401. On the 15th June the King ordered the Sheriff of Yorkshire to arrest the proctors of the two Cardinals, who were armed with Bulls of Provision; Foed. II. 1226, 1230; Murimuth, 142. The Pope wrote to complain, 28 August; Murimuth, 149. Edward wrote backing up the petition of the Commons, and praying Clement to abstain from Provisions; 30 August and 10 and 26 September; Foed. 1232, 1233; Murimuth, 143. On the 20th October he ordered all Papal Bulls to be seized; Id. 1237. Further orders were issued in January and February 1344; Foed. III. 2; Murimuth, 153.

¹ Foed. I. 4, 5.

² E.g. Three are recorded in the spring of 1342; viz. one at Dunstable in February; one in London in April, in which John of Beaumont was killed; and one at Eltham in May, in which the Count of Hainault was wounded; Murimuth, 123; Baker, 75.

the days. But the tournament did not pass off without casualty. William Montagu, the Earl of Salisbury, received injuries of which he died on the last day of the month.¹

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On Thursday 22 January the gathering was brought to a close, with proceedings of historic interest, which must be regarded as the first step towards the institution of the Most Noble the Order of the Garter. After Mass, which all were required to attend in full court dress, the King, taking the Gospels in hand, vowed to restore the Round Table of King Arthur in all its pristine glory. A certain number of barons and knights were then sworn in as Companions of the Round Table, in conformity with certain laws and regulations drawn up for observance by the Brotherhood (*sub certa forma*). Whitsunday (23rd May) was then fixed for the next meeting. To provide a suitable banqueting hall for the future use of the fellowship orders were given for crowning the old Saxon "mote" at Windsor with a tower of solid masonry.² The existing Round Tower was the result.

Founda-
tion of the
Garter.

It may be pointed out that an oath to observe the statutes of the Order has always formed part of the rites attending the installation of a new knight.³

As the Pope had not been allowed to decide anything, the missions to Avignon stipulated at Malestroit led to nothing but fresh condemnation of Edward's pretensions.⁴

In Brittany hostilities between the rival factions had never ceased; brigandage of the sort had been anticipated and provided for. But Philip had taken advantage of the

¹ Murimuth (Hog), 156; Barnes, 295.

² See Murimuth, 155; and the further details in Mr. Hog's edition of the chronicle, 155. The date of the foundation of the Garter is uncertain, owing to the loss of the annals of the Order prior to the time of Henry V. Le Bel, II. 26, places the foundation on Whitsunday 1344, the very day named by Edward for the first formal meeting. Froissart, taking the day from later custom, places it on St. George's Day, but also in 1344; I. 179. Polydore Vergil, a writer of the time of Henry VIII, is the first to connect the badge of the Order with a lady's garter; he mentions it as an accepted tradition passed over by earlier writers from prudential considerations. If accepted the incident should be connected with the festivities of January 1344.

³ Ashmole, Garter, 355.

⁴ Foed. II. 1224, 1231; Murimuth, 156, 157.

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Philip
and the
Bretons.Parlia-
ment.Liberty
of the
Church.

truce to lay treacherous hands on a whole series of leading Breton barons of whom he was jealous, putting several of them to death, without any form of trial. Philip's conduct was as impolitic as it was wicked. His cue should have been to avoid giving Edward any excuse for resuming active hostilities. Perhaps he flattered himself that he had acted cleverly, because, for the moment, Brittany was terrorized.¹ But Edward promptly called attention to these infractions of the truce, laying them before a Parliament held at Westminster in June (1344). The Scots, too, he said, made no secret of their intentions of rejecting the armistice as soon as the French should give them the word. The Estates were in friendly mood; but their answers betrayed a certain uneasiness at the 'apparent prospect of fruitless campaigns, alternating with 'feigned truces'.² On the express condition that the King would either fight a decisive battle, or make peace, liberal grants were made. The Magnates pledged themselves to serve abroad in person; the counties gave a Fifteenth for two years; and the boroughs a Tenth for the like period. These grants, however, were not formally sanctioned till the King had given satisfactory answers to sundry Articles of petition. In compliance with these the wool tariff was abandoned, the price being left to be settled between vendor and purchaser: a royal mint was established at York: the new gold currency was declared legal tender only for sums over twenty shillings: and the King undertook to find the 'wages' of all soldiers to be impressed for foreign service.³ The clergy of both Provinces also were ready with their grants. A Tenth for three years, previously voted in Convocation, was now "reported to the King by the Parliamentary proctors, which was the usual course". But the grants were not finally passed till the King had set his seal to a clerical petition, praying for relief in sundry respects from the jurisdiction of the secular tribunals. By the statute thus

¹ Froissart, I. 178; Sismondi, X. 234; Lavissee, IV. 56.

² Rot. Parl. II. 148.

³ Statutes, I. 100; Rot. Parl. 148-151; Knighton, 2584; Foed. III. 16.

obtained the power of the lay courts of issuing prohibitions interfering with the action of Courts Christian, was greatly curtailed; the prelates were relieved from secular jurisdiction in criminal cases; and the like exemption given to all the clergy in cases of 'bigamy'.¹

One article of complaint the clergy and the laity had in common, and that was the never-ending grievance of Purveyance. The law on the subject had been clear enough since the time of Magna Carta. Provisions and cartage taken for the King's use must be paid for; Magna Carta even fixed the rates to be paid for cartage. By ancient custom, however, the King was entitled to take as much corn as he wanted from the markets at *2d.* the quarter below the current rate;² that trifling deduction might have been endured well enough, if the rest of the price had been forthcoming. The *Articuli super Cartas* of 1300 gave minute regulations for the adjustment of accounts between the royal 'pernors and purveyors' and the husbandmen. But when the accounts had been stated and adjusted how was payment to be enforced? The migratory habits of the Court carried the grievance into the remotest corners of the land. "Every old woman trembled for her poultry, the archbishop in his palace trembled for his household and stud, until the King had gone by".³ The answer given on this occasion was the stereotyped one; the King would order the statutes against Purveyance to be republished, with strict injunctions to the Steward of the Household to observe them 'in all points'.

The supplies voted in this session enabled the King to carry on his preparations at leisure; and for two years he was able to dispense with summoning a Parliament.

The French finances as well as those of England had felt

¹ 18 Edw. III, st. 3; Rot. Parlt. II. 151-153; Murimuth, 156; Bp. Stubbs, sup., II. 414; Wake, 293. For prohibitions see Lingard, III. 127.

² Liber de Antiqq. Legg. 52 (from ships only?).

³ See Bp. Stubbs, 423, and the manuscript letter of Archbishop Islip to Edward III there cited; also on the whole subject, p. 567. The accounts printed by Mr. Rogers abound in entries of fines paid to escape 'purveyance'.

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French
taxation.

the strain of the war. But Philip's exchequer had also been affected by expenditure under other heads, such as subventions to the King of Castile for the siege of Algeciras; the purchase of the reversion of Dauphiné; and the maintenance of a luxurious and ostentatious Court. The expedients devised for replenishing the King's purse inflicted probably a greater amount of national suffering than the war as yet had done. First came the celebrated 'gabelle' or salt monopoly, a tax intended to reach the pockets of the very poorest. This gained for the King the name of the true author of the Salique Law.¹ The next impost was the atrocious *alcavala*—borrowed from Spain—and a truly Spanish device—five per cent. levied on the purchase money of all goods bought and sold in open market.² Lastly, to enhance the produce of these taxes, the currency, which had been debased during the war, when the King had large payments to make, was suddenly raised to its former level. By a sweeping ordinance the King directed that the silver *denier* (*blanc denier à la fleur de lys*), then current for fifteen *deniers* of account, should, from and after certain stated days, be accepted first as equivalent to nine, then as equivalent to six, and finally as equivalent to only three *deniers* of account.³

It would seem, however, that prior to the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War France was a flourishing country; waste and forest lands were being extensively reclaimed; in some districts the population would be as great as at the present day; in many districts quite as great as at the beginning of the eighteenth century. We are assured that a fourteenth-century Norman peasant coming back to his own land in the middle of the nineteenth century,

¹ 20th March 1343; *Grandes Chroniques*, V. 424; *Martin*, V. 67-70.

² August (?) 1343. Edward, following Philip's lead, attempted to impose this tax in Gascony; September 1443; *Foed.* II. 1235. The *alcavala* was just the old Roman *vicestima rerum venalium*.

³ 22 August 1343; *Sismondi*, X. 229. Philip's frauds on the currency were incessant. See *Le Bel*, II. 62. In 1346 three changes were made in the course of the year; *Sismondi*, 271. "En marchandise on ne se pouvait cognoistre;" *Le Bel*, *sup.* For the financial state of France later in the century see *Lavis*, IV. 200-217.

before recent improvements in agricultural implements, would have noticed on the whole little change except in the kinds of crop under cultivation. Fallowing would have disappeared. Colza and green crops would have replaced the vine and flax.¹

Between the two Kings a semblance of diplomatic intercourse was kept up; but on all sides it was felt that the lull in the storm was but transitory.

Edward by this time had brought himself to believe that he really had a right to the crown of France. Philip, a man intolerant of the smallest opposition, tingled with rage at the mere name of the man who denied his kingship.² The military classes on both sides were acquiring a taste for campaigning licence; the French peasantry had no one to speak for them; the English commons, who might have made their voices heard, were not seriously affected by the war.

The grants obtained from the nation since 1336, liberal as they were thought to be at the time, had been altogether incommensurate with the rate of Edward's expenditure; he had been able to spend as he did, only because he had been able to borrow; and he had been able to borrow because the rapid expansion of Italian trade had led to an accumulation of capital seeking investment. The Italians had probably found their dealings with the first two Edwards profitable, and so had been led to trust a third of the name. The King's foreign allies had been hired with Florentine gold; and the leading Florentine houses were now reduced to a state of hopeless insolvency. English borrowing.

In January 1345 the great historic firm of the Bardi became bankrupt, "a catastrophe which plunged all Florence in distress." The King owed them 900,000 gold florins (£300,000); he owed the Peruzzi 600,000 florins; and they likewise failed. The Acciaiuoli, Bonaccursi, Cocchi, Antellesi, Corsini and others succumbed likewise.³

¹ So M. Coville, Lavissee, IV. 19-21.

² Sismondi, X. 245.

³ Bp. Stubbs, II. 416; Villani, XI. 291 (Muratori Scriptt, XIII. 819, 820, 934). Cf. Rot. Parl. II. 240. See Archaeol. XXVIII. 259; also a letter to Edward

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The year 1345 like its predecessor was taken up with seeming negotiations for peace and real preparations for war. Two Cardinals, Nicolò Canali and Pedro Alfonso, came over in February, to discuss the peace question, and the patronage question. On both points Edward turned a deaf ear to their representations. To deprive them of any opportunity of lengthening their stay in England he received them in Kent. At the end of a fortnight they were off.¹

After Easter a stimulus was given to the war movement by the appearance of de Montfort who had succeeded in making his escape from the Louvre. On the 20th May he did homage to Edward as King of France.² His example was shortly followed by Geoffrey de Harcourt, Viscount of Saint-Sauveur in the Cotentin, whose lands had been sequestered by Philip. Philip's treatment of the French nobility was fast raising up allies for the King of England ;³ and Edward, taking advantage of the opportunity, resolved to renew operations as soon as possible. He had been laying plans for simultaneous attacks on France from Brittany and Guienne. During the Windsor tournament of the previous year the Gascons had succeeded in drawing the King's attention to the state of their much neglected province, and the Earl of Derby, Henry of Grossmont, son of the Earl of Lancaster, had been appointed King's Lieutenant.⁴ Arrangements were now made for carrying out these plans. On the 26th May the Pope was informed that the truce was at an end ; Philip had cut it short by his outrages on the Bretons.⁵ In the first week of June

from the Priors of the Arts of Florence on behalf of the Bardi, dated apparently 30 January 1342 ; Ellis, *Original Letters*, I. 42, 3rd Series. In 1347 the Bardi still held the King's bonds for £50,493 ; *Liberate Roll*, cited Ellis, *sup.*, p. 40. The gold florin was worth 6s. 8d., as already mentioned.

¹ Murimuth, 160-162 ; Foed. III. 28, 29, &c. The King signs at Teynham, near Sittingbourne, between 20th February and 1st March.

² Foed. 39.

³ Froissart, I. 202 ; Foed. III. 44 ; Sismondi.

⁴ Froissart, I. 182 ; Foed. III. 9, 34.

⁵ Murimuth, 165 ; Foed. 41. War was declared 14 June ; see the proclamation, Murimuth, 165 ; Foed. 38. Edward wrote to the Pope at weary length denouncing 'Philip of Valois' ; Foed. and Murimuth, 165 ;

de Montfort and the Earl of Northampton were sent to Brittany; a little later the Earl of Derby was shipped off to Bordeaux. Edward himself undertook a personal trip to Flanders, to keep up his connexions there; and possibly to support Van Artevelde, whose position was seriously shaken, and in fact tottering to its fall.

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1345
Preparing
for war.

For eight years Philip van Artevelde had managed the affairs of the Netherlands with signal success. The English alliance he had turned to particularly good account. By persuading Edward to fix the English wool staple at Bruges he had gained for his countrymen the entire command of the English wool market.¹ English subsidies had filled Flemish purses; English produce had supplied the Flemish markets in times of dearth.² But Artevelde's manners were rough and unpopular; at the same time he lived like a prince, and among princes, in a style offensive to the democracy, on whose support he had to depend. The municipal life of Europe at the time was convulsed by trade factions; the lesser artisan gilds were battling with the older merchant gilds. The Flemish weavers turned against Van Artevelde, accusing him of misappropriating public funds. Count Louis, having returned to his dominions, was making tempting offers to the burghers; Philip intrigued incessantly against England's ally; the prospect of the renewal of the war kept the country in a state of unrest; and markets in consequence were falling.³

On the 3rd July Edward sailed from Sandwich, the Prince of Wales going with him,⁴ his first trip across the Channel. It was whispered that Van Artevelde in his strait had suggested the expulsion of Louis of Nevers and his whole House, and the adoption of the young Prince as Count.⁵

Clement on the 21st July answered at still greater length, defending Philip; Murimuth, 177-188.

¹ See the complaint of Parliament that the Flemings kept out the Genoese, Lombards, Catalans, and Spaniards, who used to buy wool from England; Rot. Parl. II. 149.

² See Wardrobe Accounts and Close Rolls cited by Pauli, II. 392, 393.

³ See Lavisé, IV. 54, 55.

⁴ Foed. IV. 50.

⁵ Le Bel, II. 35; Froissart, I. 204.

CHAP. XVIII But a proposal so shocking to national feeling could do its author little good. On the 7th July Van Artevelde had an interview with the King on board his ship at Sluys. What passed between them did not transpire. Van Artevelde escorted by a few English soldiers returned to Ghent, to find the city in a state of commotion. At night a howling mob of weavers surrounded his mansion, calling on him to come down, and render an account of all the public money that he had spent. He endeavoured to parley with them; finding them intractable he endeavoured to escape through some stabling at the back. He was intercepted and brutally murdered. Gérard Denis, Dean of the weavers' gild, who aspired to succeed Van Artevelde, felled him with a hatchet.¹

Edward returned to England deploring the loss of his ally.² Within a couple of months' time he found himself bereft of another friend, through the death of his brother-in-law William II of Hainault.³ As he left no issue the husbands of his three sisters laid rival claims to the inheritance, and so Edward was at once brought into direct collision with the Emperor and the Margrave of Juliers. The great alliance was thus finally broken up, but for the purposes of the King of England the loss of such allies was solid gain.⁴

The campaign in Brittany bore little fruit, possibly in consequence of the sudden death of de Montfort, who passed away on the 26th September.⁵ Northampton took two minor strongholds, and then went into winter quarters, while de Montfort's little son was hailed by the party as Duke John. He had already been betrothed to the Lady Mary born within the year.⁶

¹ 24 July; Froissart, I. 204-206 and notes; Chron. Fland., Smet, Receuil, I. 329, cited Pauli; Villani, XII, c. 47. Lavissee, sup., gives the date as 17 July; so too Murimuth, 170, q.v. ² 26 July; Foed. III. 53, 55.

³ The Count fell on the 26th or 27th September, in an expedition against the Frisians; Sismondi, X. 265, citing Villani; Froissart, I. 207.

⁴ See Sismondi, sup. Louis of Bavaria managed to secure the succession for his second son, William. For the claims put in by Edward on behalf of Philippa, see Foed. 61, 80, &c. ⁵ Lobineau, I. 337; D'Achery, Spicileg. III. 106.

⁶ Id.; Green, Princesses, III. 273; Murimuth, 189.

Derby was more successful in the South. He had the support of the Earls of Oxford¹ and Pembroke and Walter Manny. Landing at Bayonne he marched to Bordeaux to organize his forces. The operations of the autumn took the shape of three petty campaigns. The first opened with the siege of Bergerac on the Dordogne, the headquarters of the Count of Lille-Jourdain. Philip, as usual, had done nothing for his Lieutenant beyond authorizing him to call out the feudal levies of his district.² The English found the enemy posted on the south side of the river, to defend a suburb which covered the access to the bridge, the town being situate on the north side of the river. The French had placed their despised foot-soldiers in the van. The first volley of arrows drove them in; the French cavalry, hampered by the flying mob, were forced to retreat also; the whole force was driven pell-mell into Bergerac. Two days later the English crossed the river with shipping brought from Bordeaux; a breach was effected in the palisades; and the townsmen surrendered. Lille-Jourdain and his knights had galloped off by night to La Réole.³ The Earl then overran Périgord advancing as far North as Bourdeille; Lalinde, Saint-Louis, Montagner and Périgueux were said to have been taken; the main force was then brought back to Bordeaux for a rest.⁴

Bergerac
won.

The second campaign was undertaken at a moment's notice to relieve Auberoche,⁵ a place that had been suddenly attacked by Lille-Jourdain with all the forces of Périgord and French Gascony. Starting with 300 lances and 600 archers the Earl of Derby fell on the enemy's camp at supper-time. The French were cut down right and left

Auberoche
relieved.

¹ John I de Vere; he succeeded his uncle Robert III in 1331; Doyle.

² Sismondi, X. 250.

³ Le Bel, II. 39; Froissart, I. 183-187. The English entered Bergerac 26 August; note Buchon, from a local MS. chronicle. The capitulation was signed on the 24th August; Vic et Vaissete.

⁴ Avesbury, 356; Froissart, 187-190.

⁵ This place, which belonged to the diocese of Périgueux, is given as being near Callandre in the North of Cantal. The English therefore must have still retained some of the much disputed positions in the three Dioceses, the conquests of Richard I. See Dawn of Constitution, 183, 277, 329.

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in their tents; those who tried to rally outside were dispersed by the archers; Lille-Jourdain and some eight other counts and viscounts were taken, besides barons, bannerets, and knights untold. For the numbers engaged the *noblesse* of Languedoc never had a more costly day; whole families were impoverished by the payment of the ransoms then incurred.¹ Yet it was asserted that the Duke of Normandy had an army within ten leagues of Auberoche that very day. Philip himself was at Angoulême, but not one effectual step had he taken for protecting his subjects from invasion.²

La Réole
captured.

After another due interval of repose Derby made his third start from Bordeaux, and with astonishing ease carried La Réole, Montségur, Aiguillon, Roche, Millon, Montpezat, Villefranche;³ even Angoulême opened its gates to him. His gentle treatment of the vanquished did quite as much for him as his military skill.⁴

¹ 23rd October; Froissart, I. 192, &c., and notes; Avesbury, sup.; Sismondi, X. 254; Vic et Vaissete, IV. 255 (ed. 1742).

² Sismondi, 251, 256. The Duke at any rate was at Limoges on the 13th October, and the King at Angoulême on the 23rd October; Vic et Vaissete, 257.

³ Most of these places are in Lot et Garonne.

⁴ Froissart, 195-202; Le Bel, II, 40; Sismondi. For the earl's honourable character see Walsingham, I. 265, and Baker, 77. The latter notes that he conferred the honours of knighthood on Gascons as well as on Englishmen.

CHAPTER XIX

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1345-1346

Renewal of the war with France.—Campaigns of the Earl of Derby in Gascony.—
Campaign and Battle of Crécy.—Siege laid to Calais.

CLEMENT VI, to do him justice, was untiring in his efforts on behalf of peace. In November (1345) the Cardinal Nicolò Canali, Archbishop of Ravenna, who had been so curtly dismissed by Edward in February, returned to England with credentials to the King. But Edward, who had devoted the latter half of the year to field sports and other pastimes,¹ was at the moment far away on the Scottish March, and declined to hasten his movements out of regard for the Papal envoy. On the 17th December, at last, he came to Town, and next day gave audience to Canali. The latter had been instructed to beg the King to allow the truce to run its appointed course, namely to Michaelmas, 29 October 1346; and in the meantime to issue safe-conducts to two Cardinals instructed to treat for peace or a truce. After one day given to seeming deliberation the King sent Bartholomew Burghersh, the Chamberlain of the Household, to inform the Cardinal that the truce had been so grossly violated by the King's adversary that he could not possibly pay any regard to it. As for the suggested conference, the King could not name either time or place for meeting the Cardinals without consulting his numerous allies. As the rights which through God's mercy had devolved on the King by hereditary descent could not be made good except by the strong hand, he was preparing with the help of his allies to assert these rights; when he had done so he would be glad to receive any envoys that His

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Papal
efforts for
peace.

¹ Murimuth, 170.

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Holiness might please to send; and with that the envoy received his *congé*. The other Cardinals, on whose behalf he had crossed the Channel, were waiting at Arras. Early in 1346 they made a renewed application for leave to come over, but met with no better answer than before.¹ Still Clement would not relax his efforts. On the 20th April the King was obliged to depute Master Andrew Offord, Professor of Civil Law, to meet the Cardinals in France. Offord having brought back a request for a personal interview with the King, Edward made no reply till he was ready to sail. On the 2nd July, being at Dorchester, about to step on board ship, he gave the off-hand answer that he could make no appointment, as he was 'on his passage, ready to sail whithersoever God might lead him'.²

Preparation for the campaign had begun early in the year. As a preliminary Edward called for a return from the counties South of the Trent of the names of all persons owning 100 shillings' worth of land or upwards; persons worth 100 shillings to provide an archer; those worth £10 to provide a hobeler, and those worth £25 a year to provide a man-at-arms, and so on at the same rate for higher incomes.³ From the Exchequer records we learn that these returns were demanded, not for the purpose of actually raising men for service, but for extorting compositions in lieu of men. The scale of these was fixed at 20 shillings for an archer, £3 6s. 8d. for a hobeler, and £6 13s. 4d. for a man-at-arms. The whole proceeding of course was grossly illegal, a mere repetition of the *finés ne transfreten* of Richard and John; while the King had specially promised the last Parliament that he would find the pay of all men serving abroad. Great opposition was encountered. Probably in consequence the scheme was not pushed very far, the total money raised only amounting to £3,000.

*Finés ne
transfre-
tent.*

¹ Murimuth, 190-192.

² Foed. III. 80, 84.

³ See the writ on the French Roll; 20 Edw. III, printed by General Wrottesley T. Salt Arch. Soc. XVIII. 66.

⁴ See Pell Receipt Roll, Mich. 21 Edw. III; Murimuth, 192, 198. In consequence of the outcry the King declared that the thing should not be repeated. For previous proceedings of the same sort see Baker, 75, 76.

For the forces actually raised, 3,580 archers had been enlisted in the counties South of the Trent, with 100 from the county Palatine of Chester, and 3,500 Welshmen, half of these to be bowmen and half spearmen.¹ In the matter of men-at-arms, a nominal return of the military tenants and their retainers makes them about 800 strong; to these we have to add 100 men provided by the Londoners, and also 241 men of those assessed to find men-at-arms who preferred to serve in person, say, some 1,200 lances in all. For hobelers or light horse we have 500 from London, with 1,243 sent by 144 other towns, South of the Trent, making a total of 1,743 of this arm.² The whole force with miners and supernumeraries might come to 10,100 men. Financial and commissariat arrangements were carried out in generally high-handed fashion. The clear revenues of all benefices held by foreigners were 'borrowed'; Benevolences to the tune of £15,000 were exacted from the native clergy and others; quantities of wheat, malt, oats, bacon, and salt-beef were requisitioned, but not without indignant protests.³

The King had been at Porchester since the beginning of June, superintending the fitting out of the armament. He had in attendance on him the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Warwick and Northampton, holding the offices of Marshal and Constable respectively; the Earls of Oxford, Arundel, Huntingdon, Suffolk, with William Montagu II, the young Earl of Salisbury; also Thomas Hatfield the new Bishop of Durham; ⁴ the Barons Despenser, Burghersh, Cobham, Grey of Ruthyn, Talbot, Willoughby, Mortimer, Berkeley, Hastings, Poynings, the whole flower of the English Baronage.⁵ Among other preparations, to rouse

¹ For these see Foed. III. 67 and 79, the last only a mere repetition of the other; the order to the Prince of Wales to superintend the levy (*præfatu arriatio*) is a mere writ of assistance, not an extra levy.

² See the lists, French Roll, and Foed. sup.

³ Foed. 66-81; Knighton, 2585.

⁴ Consecrated 10 July 1345. His predecessor, Richard Aungerville of Bury (*Philobiblon*), died the previous 15th April, leaving a library estimated as five waggon-load of books; Murimuth, 171. If the King had only seized the Bishop's books, instead of his money, as he probably did, what a valuable foundation for a Royal Library it would have made!

⁵ French Roll, sup.

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his people to the proper pitch of animosity against the French, Edward issued a fresh manifesto, a most audacious composition, denouncing Philip as threatening 'to root out the English tongue'. The document was addressed to the Provincial of the Friars Preachers for circulation through the pulpit.¹

Philip was noways ignorant of the coming storm. On the 20th June he wrote to King David of Scotland informing him that Edward was preparing to invade France, and begging him not to miss the opportunity of striking an effective blow at England.² But as Edward could choose his own point of attack the difficulty was how to guard against his coming; and so Philip did nothing to meet a possible landing in the North, concentrating his attention on the actual war in the South. Perhaps he thought as many in England did that Gascony was the King's objective.

French
successes.

During the autumn, the Earl of Derby, or rather Earl of Lancaster as he should now be called, his father the respected Henry Wryneck having passed away,³ had carried his successes still farther, capturing sundry places on the Garonne and Lot, and notably Aiguillon, a place strongly situated at the junction of those two rivers. To retrieve these and other losses, in March (1346) a fine French army was gathered in Poitou under the lead of the Duke of Normandy. The main enterprise contemplated was the recovery of Aiguillon; ⁴ but preliminary operations resulted in the reduction of Miramont, Port-Sainte-Marie, Damazan, Ville-France-d'Agenais, and Tonneins. By way of contrasting himself with the Earl of Derby the Duke sacked the towns and put the garrisons to the sword. A detached force laid siege to Angoulême, and pressed their attack so vigorously that the garrison were fain to beg a truce for

¹ Foed. III. 72; cf. 78.

² Heming. Cont. II. 421; on the 22nd July Philip wrote more pressingly, Edward having landed in the Cotentin; Id. 424. A raid into Cumberland followed; Lanercost, 341.

³ 23 September 1345; Doyle, Complete Peerage.

⁴ Vic et Vaissete, IV. 258, 259; Grandes Chroniques, V. 446.

one clear day, which was granted, the morrow being a high Feast, namely the Annunciation (25 March); and the English took advantage of it to scamper off to Aiguillon.¹ The Duke following them sat down before Aiguillon, shortly after Easter (16 April). The place was attacked by land and by water; the newest and most formidable battering engines were brought to bear, with day and night shifts of men to work them, so as to give the garrison no rest. Nevertheless Ralph Lord Stafford held the Duke at bay till the 20th August, when alarming news from the North caused John to break up his camp and depart.²

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On the 2nd July the King crossed over to the Isle of Wight,³ the Great Seal having been delivered to him that day by the Chancellor John of Offord: the King's second son Lionel of Antwerp had already been appointed Warden to act during his absence. But Edward was detained for nine days more. His intentions to a certain extent had been kept secret;⁴ but the general belief was that he was bound for Gascony, to reinforce his cousin the gallant Lancaster. On the 11th July Edward sailed at last, and then it turned out that his destination was Normandy. Again had he lent too ready an ear to the insidious counsels of an exile. Geoffrey de Harcourt had persuaded him to try a landing in that quarter. In Gascony the King had a province being seriously attacked, and loyal subjects calling for protection. Even if he had chosen Brittany for his field of operations he might have assured the success of the House of Dreux, and established a friendly power on the Loire. By listening to de Harcourt he was plunging into a country where he could meet with nothing but opposition, and accomplish nothing but devastation, a mere raid. All that can be said for him is that he was no longer hampered by any allies, and free to work out his own ends with his own resources.

Sailing of
the King.

¹ Le Bel, II. 45-50; Froissart, I. 209-211, where for the date we must read 'Annunciation' for 'Purification'.

² Id.; Avesbury, 357; Baker, 78.

³ Foed. III. 84, 85. Offord became Chancellor 26 October 1345, in succession to Robert of Sadington, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Foss, III. 324.

⁴ Murimuth, 199; Baker, 79.

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Illegal
grants.

On the 12th July a landing was effected at La Hogue in the Cotentin.¹ Edward staid six days there, and took the opportunity of knighting the Prince, who had entered on his seventeenth year, and with him, of course, a number of others.² He also held a Grand Council, and obtained from the complaisant Magnates a re-grant of the old Aid for knighting the eldest son, renounced by himself in 1340; the Lords voted the tax without asking for any concurrence of the Commons, and voted it at 40 shillings the knight's fee, twice the old rate;³ they were also liberal enough to grant extra customs' duties of 2 shillings on the sack of wool, and 6*d.* on the pound of general merchandise,⁴ altogether signal breaches of the statute of 1340. Meanwhile detached parties sacked and burned Barfleur and other places.⁵

City of
Caen.

On Tuesday 18 July the King advanced to Valognes; on the 20th he rested at Carantan; on the 22nd at Saint-Lô; and on the 25th July the army encamped round Fontenay le Pesnel,⁶ near Tilly, and about 12 miles from Caen. Nowhere on the line of their march had they found any friends; everywhere the bridges were broken down against them; everywhere they pillaged and destroyed for leagues around them.⁷ On Wednesday 26 July the English continuing their advance found themselves 'about the hour of nones' outside Caen. The place is described as being 'larger than any city in England except London'. Rich and populous, the town was conveniently situated at the junction of the Odon and the Orne, their waters enclosing several islands. The original town or *Grand*

¹ See the official report of Michael Northburgh, Clerk of the Privy Council; Avesbury, 358; and another report to the Archbishop of York, Lanercost, 342. For the King's movements see the Itinerary compiled by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, G. Baker, notes, 252, &c., and the map there.

² See Barnes, 341.

³ Foed. III. 90; Rot. Parlt. II. 200; Statutes, I. 35.

⁴ L. T. R. Enrolled Customs' Accounts, Edw. III, No. 12, m. 3. The dues were only levied one year.

⁵ See the letter of Bartholomew Burghersh, Murimuth, 200.

⁶ Dept. Orne; Prentout.

⁷ See the report, Avesbury, sup.; also Lanercost, 342; for the Itinerary compare Archaeol. XXXII. 383.

Bourg, with the castle, stood on the north-westerly side of the united streams; a suburb of almost equal dimensions occupying the *Île Saint-Jean* to the South-East; thus Caen consisted of two nearly equal halves separated by a river, with one fortified bridge as the only means of communication between them. The castle stood at the extreme north end of the *Grand Bourg*, which apparently was not otherwise fortified: the *Île Saint-Jean* of course had its watery defences. Outside the town were established the conqueror's two foundations, St. Stephen's Abbey and Matilda's Nunnery of the Holy Trinity, besides numerous other churches. Philip had sent down Robert of Brienne the Constable and Tancarville the Chamberlain to make a stand at Caen; beyond that he had done nothing for the defence of the place;¹ the Bishop of Bayeux, however, was established in the Castle. At the approach of the English the two abbeys were evacuated;² as was the *Grand Bourg*, the French commanders removing the entire population to the island. The castle was left to defend itself. For the defence of the island some preparation had been made; the bridge had been barricaded, and the bridge-house filled with armed men. Boats manned with cross-bowmen were established in the Odon to guard the water-front.

Advancing from the north-west and wheeling round the Castle, the Prince with the van entered the *Grand Bourg*, 'probably by the *Porte aux Bergers*', and quietly took possession, while Warwick and Northampton pressed on to lead an irregular attack, 'without orders or array' on the crowded island. The men on the bridge made a stout defence, but the archers succeeded in silencing the cross-bowmen in the boats, and, laying hold of their vessels began to cross; then the Welsh plunged into the river, the waters being at a very low ebb, and, getting a footing on the uninhabited *Île des Prés*, turned the flank of the bridge. The Constable and Chamberlain, who were in the bridge-house, were glad to surrender their swords to English knights whom they recognized in the *mêlée*. Some 140 knights and esquires were taken prisoners,

¹ Froissart, I. 222. For the town see Plan.

² So Avesbury, 359.

while the townspeople were subjected to all the horrors of a mediaeval sack.¹ Among the spoils that fell into Edward's hands was a real or pretended compact between Philip and the people of Normandy, purporting to have been executed eight years before, for a joint invasion of England. The mass of miscellaneous booty seized at Caen would have been a considerable encumbrance to the army. Fortunately the attendant fleet under the Earl of Huntingdon, that had been ravaging the coast, had put in at the mouth of the Orne in a mutinous condition. Edward took the opportunity of sending home the captives and the plunder, not forgetting the incriminating treaty, to be published at home and utilized to fan the feeling for the war.²

On the 31st July Edward moved on, leaving the castle and the Bishop in peace. His object, apparently, was to effect a junction with a mixed body of English and Flemish troops appointed to operate on the Flemish border.³ At Lisieux (2, 3 August) he was confronted by the mediating Cardinals, Etienne Aubert (afterwards Pope Innocent VI) and Annibale Ceccano. They were dismissed with the old answer that the King always had been and still was ready to accept any reasonable terms of peace. Taking him at his word, they waited on him again a few days later at his quarters at Gaillon, with the handsome offer of the Aquitanian dominion as held by Edward II. Had this offer been accepted, the King would have retrieved all the losses incurred through the mismanagement of his father; but he was as obdurate and intractable as ever; and Philip, probably, was not very sorry that his offer had been rejected.⁴

A handsome offer.

¹ "Ad nudos parietes villa spoliata est." See Avesbury, Murimuth, and Lanercost, sup.; Delpit, Documents Inédits, 71; Le Bel, I. 72; Froissart, I. 223 and notes; De Nangis, 107; and especially M. Prentout's "Prise de Caen", Académie de Rouen, 1904.

² The treaty purports to have been executed at Vincennes, 23 March, "l'an du grâce xxxviii"; Avesbury, 364-7; Rot. Parl. II. 158. Stratford preached on it at St. Paul's; Avesbury, 363.

³ See Knighton, 2586; Foed. III. 83.

⁴ See the report by the King's confessor; Avesbury, 362; Murimuth, 215; Eulogium Historiarum, III. 207 (Rolls Series, Haydon); Baker, 80; cf. Villani, XII. 64; and for the place, Barnes, 346, citing Ashmole.

Continuing his march through Brionne to Elbœuf (7 August), Edward found the bridge at Rouen broken down, Philip himself being there in force.¹ Obligated to ascend the left bank of the Seine in quest of a crossing-place, on Sunday 13 August Edward reached Poissy, almost within sight of Paris. Along the line of his march a belt of territory, twenty miles in width, had been laid waste,² while the French, watching his movements from the right bank, had destroyed all the bridges. As the advance up the Seine could not well be pushed any farther, Edward resolved to force the crossing at Poissy; and ordered the bridge there to be repaired. The work did not detain him long, as neither piers nor abutments had been destroyed; foot-soldiers could soon cross. In two days' time the Earl of Northampton was sent over, and drove some local forces back as far as Pontoise, while skirmishing parties on the other side of the river pushed their ravages as far as Saint-Germain, Saint-Cloud, Rueil and Nanterre. On the 16th August Edward himself crossed the Seine, advancing fourteen miles to Grisy.³

Philip's inaction seems extraordinary. His chief forces were in Aquitaine, no doubt, but one army would not exhaust the resources of France, and men were flocking to him every day. From Rouen he had moved to Paris, as if following Edward's movements. On the 13th August, when Edward reached Poissy, he marched bravely through Paris from Saint-Denis to Saint-Germain, and halted there. Next day hearing that the English were establishing communications across the bridge at Poissy, he fell back on Saint-Denis, and addressed another ridiculous challenge to Edward, offering to meet him any day after the 16th inst.⁴

¹ Avesbury, 363; Grandes Chroniques, V. 454.

² Avesbury and Baker, sup.; Le Bel, II. 75. Baker and the Grandes Chroniques give the 12th August as the day of the arrival at Poissy; that must have been the date of the arrival of the van, as the Kitchen Accounts, printed Baker, 252, are decisive as to the King's arrival on the 13th August.

³ See the reports, Avesbury, 367; Murimuth, 215; also Baker, 81, the Itinerary, Id. 256; and Martin, France, V. 84.

⁴ See Grandes Chroniques, V. 456; De Nangis, Cont. 107; and Heming. Cont. II. 433, for the challenge, and Edward's answer dated the 15th.

Afraid of treachery, afraid of an assault on Paris from the South, he could form no plan. The Parisians were becoming loud in their indignation, when their spirits were revived by the appearance of a body of German men-at-arms, headed by John the blind King of Bohemia, and his son Charles of Moravia, recently set up as King of the Romans by Clement VI, in opposition to the unfortunate Louis of Bavaria. The Emperor with all his penitence and self-abasement had failed to gain pardon or peace.¹

Meanwhile Edward was making the best of his way across the plains of Picardy by forced marches, apparently with the simple object of getting safely out of France. Skirting the walls of Beauvais, the English captured Poix, scattering with equal ease either local forces that confronted them, or German riders hanging on their rear. On the 21st August Edward reached the small town of Airaines,² some ten miles from the Somme. Scouting parties sent out reported that all the bridges and fords of the river above Abbeville were either broken down or held in force. The King looked rather blank at the receipt of this intelligence; Philip was close at hand, at or near Amiens,³ with an army that grew more formidable every day; while his own supplies were running short. It seemed as if the whole English host was in danger of being "entangled in the land" and cut off.⁴ The passage above Abbeville being barred, the question was whether the river could be crossed at or below the town. On the 22nd August the King himself made a reconnaissance of Abbeville, advancing as far as the heights of Caubert, while Warwick and de Harcourt rode up to the very gates of the city. Finding the place fully prepared, Edward moved on to Acheux in search of a crossing below Abbeville (23 August).⁵ Advance parties

¹ Le Bel, II. 76; Froissart, I. 227; De Nangis, and *Grandes Chroniques*, sup.

² Avesbury, 368; Murimuth, sup.; Itinerary.

³ Froissart, 229. According to the chronicle of Giles li Muisis, Philip reached Amiens on the 20th August, De Smet, I. 243. General Köhler takes him there on the 21st August.

⁴ Le Bel, II. 79-81; Froissart, 227-229; Li Muisis, 244.

⁵ See Louandre, *Histoire d'Abbeville*, 117, 118; and the Itinerary, sup.

were sent out; an action with natives ensued near Saint-Valéry, and a number of prisoners were brought in. Large rewards were offered to any man who would point out a ford. Yielding to the temptation, one of the prisoners, by name Gobin Agache, a native of the neighbouring village of Mons-en-Vimeu, offered to guide the army to the ford of Blaque Taque,¹ situate about a mile below Port, and ten miles below Abbeville. Near the sea the Somme widens out, growing at the same time shallower. At that particular spot, so the man assured the King, a bed of firm chalky gravel would afford a safe crossing-place for horse and man at low water; at ebb the water would not be above a man's knee.² Not a moment could be lost, as Philip was at hand with an overpowering army. Soon after midnight the army resumed its march, and reached the ford early on the morning of the 24th August. The tide was not yet out; while they were watching the course of the ebb, Godemar du Faye, a Norman Baron, appeared on the opposite bank with troops sent by Philip to defend the line of the Somme. There was but one thing to be done. As soon as the ford was practicable Edward ordered the archers to the front, under Northampton, Hugh le Despenser IV and Reginald Cobham. After a smart engagement Godemar was defeated and driven down the river towards Noyelles, a line of bluffs cutting off his retreat inland; at Sailly-Braie he made his last stand; meanwhile Le Crotoy had been given to the flames. The way being clear the whole English army then crossed.³

Edward at first thought of halting for the night at Noyelles; but on hearing that the Countess of Aumale, sister of the late Robert of Artois, was living there, he pushed

Froissart, I. 230, brings the King to "Oisemont". This must be read Boismont, a place near Acheux.

¹ 'The White Spot;' Louandre and De Nangis give this, the local spelling.

² Le Bel, II. 82; Louandre, 120.

³ See Baker, 81; Avesbury, 368; Le Bel, 81-84, 86; Louandre. According to a Valenciennes chronicle, printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove in his Froissart, V. 472, the English archers went over first, then came the Welsh and a detachment of men-at-arms, then the baggage-train, the King, Prince of Wales and Bishop of Durham, bringing up the rear.

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on towards the Forest and village of Crécy. Whether he took a short cut by a path through the Forest, or wheeled round it by Le Titre and Marcheville, we are not told. All that is certain is that he encamped in the open, in or on the borders of the Forest, a little to the South of Crécy.¹

Philip
again slow.

Philip, following hard on the English tracks, had reached Airaines a few hours after they left it (23 August). The French were said to have profited by dinners prepared for their enemies.² A prompt advance might have involved the English in disaster. Philip, however, was content to leave further action to the morrow. His sluggishness saved the English. Early next morning he advanced to the Blaque Taque in time to see the last of the English crossing. The rise of the tide soon made the ford impassable. For the night he was content to remain at Mons-Boubers, near Saint-Valéry, and next day (Friday 25 August) returned to Abbeville.³

Edward
resolves to
fight.

Edward had got across the Somme, and placed that obstacle between himself and the enemy. But continuous retreat destroys the *morale* of an army, and Edward's raid had now ceased to be anything but a retreat. He declared that he would 'go no farther'; he would take his stand on the land of Ponthieu, his own inheritance, and give battle to the French.⁴

On the Friday (25 August), while Philip was taking his army from Mons to Abbeville, Edward was preparing for action, reconnoitring the country, and choosing a battle-field. Next day (Saturday 26 August), after an anxious night, he rose early, attended Mass and communicated, the Prince doing likewise. Edward then led his army from their camping-place across the little river Maie, through the village of Crécy, to the battle-field selected by his

¹ Froissart, I. 232; "Sub foresta de Cressy," Kitchen Accounts, cited Thompson, Baker, 257.

² Froissart, 230; Grandes Chroniques, V. 459.

³ Louandre, sup. The French chroniclers make Philip return to Abbeville on the 24th August, which seems very improbable.

⁴ Froissart, 223.

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officers, alongside of the road from Crécy to Wadicourt.¹ The men were posted along the slopes of an elevated plateau, with a commanding view all round. In front the ground fell away with a considerable declivity to the little *Vallée des Clercs*, the drainage falling into the Maie. Their right and right-rear would be covered by the village of Crécy, with a sharp fall in the ground between them and the village. At their backs to the South, beyond Crécy, they had all the Forest as cover, with an outlying wood again in their rear across the Wadicourt Road. The French coming from Abbeville would have to skirt the Forest and deliver a direct frontal attack from the low ground of the valley. The English left was unprotected, being commanded by the rise of the ground towards Wadicourt. On the other hand as the slopes on which they were aligned fell away at an angle from the line along which the French would have to advance they would be the least exposed to attack. The attack would fall directly on the right division.²

The army of course was marshalled in three divisions, and, in accordance with a practice now fully established with the English, all took part on foot. The right division was under the nominal command of the Prince of Wales, but the real command of Warwick the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Oxford, and Harcourt; their extreme right wing would rest on the brink of the bank overlooking Crécy. The left division, on a line with the right, was commanded by Northampton the Constable and the Earl of Arundel; the main or centre division under the King himself was apparently posted on the crest of the hill, to the rear of the other two divisions,³ the whole formation to a certain extent representing three sides of a square, an arrangement evidently borrowed from Bannockburn. We know that the divisions of a mediaeval army in action acted very independently of one another, and were organized as little

Formation
of the
army.

¹ Froissart, I. 233, 234; Avesbury, 368. "In su uno colletto avendo a passare una piccola riviera;" Villani, XII. 163. Knighton gives the place as "in campo de Wateglise iuxta Cressy" (Rolls ed.).

² See Plan.

³ "Le roy Édouart se tenoit tout quoy derriere;" Chron. Valen. sup. 475.

corps d'armée. At Halidon Hill we heard that each division had its complement of archers on either flank, and now we learn from Froissart that, at Crécy at any rate, these archers on the wings were arrayed "*en herse*",¹ 'like a harrow', or as another writer has it, "*en la manière d'un escut*," 'like a shield,' i.e. a kite-shaped shield; that is to say, in triangular formation, broad at the base and pointed at the apex, as shields then were and French harrows still are made. That the archers were projected forwards from the line of the men-at-arms again appears from the fact that to come to blows with the men-at-arms in the background, *au fond de la bataille*, the enemy had to 'coast' the line of archers, and run the gauntlet of their fire.² But the archers would have to be protected from the cavalry. Probably the Welsh spearmen were intermingled with them for the purpose. If not we must suppose the archers to have carried stakes, as we shall find them doing at Agincourt. On the other hand it would seem that the French gentry scorned to attack the archers, pressing on to meet foemen worthy of their steel. Another hint obviously taken from Bannockburn was that of filling the slopes of the hill with little concealed pitfalls to impede the cavalry.³

Edward himself took post at the foot of a windmill⁴ on the English extreme right, overlooking the whole field; the foundation tracks of the windmill still remain. Beside the King fluttered the Dragon of Wessex, the old national standard, now draped with newly assumed French lilies.⁵

All the horses were removed to the rear and picketed in a strong laager of carts and wagons, with only one

¹ Vol. I. 237, 239.

² "Sagittariis sua loca designarunt ut . . . quasi alae astarent, et sic non impediunt armatos, neque inimicis occurrent in fronte, sed in latere sagittas fulminarent;" p. 84. See also p. 9. This disposes of the view of those who like General Köhler place the archers in a line, covering the front of the men-at-arms. The Valenciennes Chronicle also places the archers on the wings, but alleges that there were but two bodies of them in all. If half the archers were massed on the left of the English left they would play little part in the action. M. Kervyn says that the base of such a triangle should be five times its height.

³ Baker, 83.

⁴ "Draco armis suis togatus;" Baker.

⁵ Froissart.

entrance.¹ The Florentine historian tells us, as a wonderful novelty, that the English brought cannon into play ; but the reader is aware that gunpowder was no novelty either to English or French. The guns, three in number, were placed under the charge of the archers.² Little efficacy need be attributed to their shooting.

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Edward rode round the ranks on a palfrey with a white staff in his hand, encouraging the men ; he had a ready word for all, and his bright cheerful tone inspired general confidence. As midday had come, and there was no word of the French, the men were dismissed to their dinners. At the first note of alarm they were recalled to their ranks, and then allowed to sit down in patient expectation, each man with his helmet or his bow before him.³

Philip had gathered a magnificent army round Abbeville. Among his followers and allies were found his standing guest, King John of Bohemia, and his son Charles the Papalist King of the Romans, with James III King of Majorca, who, having been expelled by Peter IV of Arragon, had taken refuge in France ; the list also included Charles of Alençon Philip's brother, Louis of Blois Philip's nephew, Louis of Flanders, John of Hainault, Rodolf Duke of Lorraine, who had changed sides, the Counts of Harcourt (brother of Geoffrey), Namur, Aumale, Forez, Auxerre, Sancerre, Nevers, Bar, and Saint-Pol ; the Dauphin of Auvergne ; and the German Counts of Saarbrücken, Blamont, and Salm.⁴ The presence of sundry French prelates lent a hallowing sanction to the national cause. If we must notice popular numbers, 12,000 is the lowest estimate of the French men-at-arms given by any one.⁵

Philip's
forces.

¹ Le Bel, II. 90.

² " Bombarde che saettano palotte di ferro con fuoco ; " Villani, Hist. Flor. XII. 163. The Grandes Chroniques, V. 460, give the English just three " canons ". For payments for gunpowder during this campaign, see Archaeol. XXXII. 381. For guns in the navy, and breech-loaders, in 1338, see H. Nicolas, R. Navy, II. 186. For cannon in France and the Low Countries see Lavissee, IV. 221 ; also above, pp. 195, 275.

³ Froissart, I. 235.

⁴ See the chroniclers generally, and Köhler, II. 402.

⁵ See the letter of Edward's confessor, Richard Winkeley, where he gives this number as the general estimate ; it may be considered as the King's estimate

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Philip also had an effective body of Genoese cross-bowmen, led of course by a Doria and a Grimaldi.¹ Of indefinite numbers, but little fighting value, were the troops of footmen, "serfs, half-armed and unorganized, dragged by force from their hovels to the field, mere food for the sword."² But even leaving these out of account it is clear that the disparity of forces between the two armies was enormous. Froissart calls the English 'a mere handful of men' in comparison, "*Une poignée de gens.*"

The French were evidently marshalled in three divisions, each with wings, the normal arrangement, with the Genoese as a fourth covering division in advance.³ The first or van division was commanded by the King of Bohemia, and the Counts of Alençon and Flanders; the second by the Duke of Lorraine, the Count of Blois, and the German Counts; while the third, or rear division as it seems to have been, was led by Philip and the King of the Romans. As Edward had his draped Dragon, so Philip had his Oriflamme and his Lilies.⁴

His line of
advance.

The chroniclers give us no details as to Philip's line of march; but local tradition asserts that having lost touch of the English at Blanque Taque, but having heard of their halting at Noyelles—where in fact Edward had thought of resting—he inferred that they must have taken Abbeville-Montreuil road, and so started in pursuit, on that line, and that it was not till he got to Le Titre, or thereabouts, that he found his mistake, and took to cross-country roads to gain the main Abbeville-Hesdin road, and so reach Crécy. This extra marching would account for the fact that with only fourteen miles to cover Philip failed to reach the field of battle till the afternoon. A further probable cause of delay might be found in the circumstance that, owing to their numbers, many of his men had to be quartered at

also, Murimuth, 216; also Villani, sup. 164. Le Bel and Froissart go up to 20,000 *armures*.

¹ Villani, sup.

² Goldwin Smith.

³ Northburgh says four "battles"; that would be with the Genoese; Baker subdividing the main divisions makes nine corps.

⁴ Froissart.

a distance from Abbeville, and that a considerable time elapsed in getting them together in the morning.

Following the Abbeville-Hesdin road the French in due course reached Marcheville; but it would seem that they did not take the direct road from thence to Crécy, but that they held on a little farther to the cross-road from Brailly-Cornehotte to Crécy,¹ advancing by it. This enabled them to get clear of the Maie. Between this Brailly and Crécy lay 'a fair open field',² with the Forest to the left or West of it.

The position of the English having now been located, Philip sent out a party to reconnoitre and report. Returning, they advised a halt, to collect and refresh the scattered troops, and give time for a fuller survey of the situation. The soundness of the advice was beyond question. Philip should have encamped on the heights of Estrées, with the *Vallée des Clercs* between him and the English; when a glance at the situation would have suggested the expediency of detaching a force—possibly in the night—to make the circuit of the horse-shoe line of high ground round the head of the valley, from Estrées to Wadicourt, and so turn the English left.³ Philip, who, so far, had not been precipitate in his action, accepted the advice as soon as offered. But he failed to get his men to listen to him.⁴ Not a *seigneur* would obey orders. The lords in front refused to remain halted, unless those behind ceased to press on; those behind thought it shame not to be as much to the front as those before them. Moreover the mixture of nationalities in the army would intensify the rivalry between the different corps.

¹ So the Chron. Valenciennes, printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, Froissart, V. 474. Froissart again gives the battle as fought between Crécy and "La Broye". This must be identified with Brailly-Cornehotte. That the action was fought on this line is proved by the spot where the King of Bohemia fell, a few yards from the road leading from Brailly-Cornehotte and Fontaine-sur-Maie to Crécy. ² "Une belle plaine;" Chron. Valenc. sup. ³ See Map.

⁴ Both General Köhler and Mr. Oman take Philip up to Estrées to set his battle in order there. But I don't believe that he ever got much off the line of the road from Brailly-Cornehotte and Fontaine-sur-Maie to Crécy. Mr. Oman further makes Philip advance by the Marcheville road, on the left side of the Maie, which he would have to cross.

'Thus ever struggling onwards, through pride and contention,' they found themselves face to face with the English, and then it seemed greater shame than ever to turn back.'¹

Meanwhile a thunderstorm came on with drenching rain; the storm over, the sun shone out full in the faces of the French, who were advancing in a north-westerly direction. Filled with fury at the sight of the English, Philip ordered the Genoese to the front. They went in rather reluctantly; they were tired and wet, and, according to some authorities, the strings of their crossbows had been relaxed by the rain.² But Philip was imperative, and so perforce they advanced to exchange shots with the archers. But the conditions of the conflict were too unequal. Apart from the vantage of their position, the English bows carried farther than the weapons of their adversaries, and could be discharged three times as fast. When the Genoese came within the area of the projecting *herse*s, they would be swept by a flanking fire on either side. Fairly overwhelmed by the arrowy hail, they fell back in some confusion.³ The French lords, vying with one another to get to the front, and infuriated at the repulse of the sharp-shooters, refused to open their ranks to let them pass. 'Ride down the rascals' was the cry.⁴ The unfortunate Italians struggling for their lives became a mere stumbling-block to the cavalry. Still the archers poured their volleys into the thickest of the press, where every shot told, especially on the horseflesh; the wounded struggling animals soon made the confusion complete. Then the Welsh 'slipping among the fallen or helplessly jammed horsemen found the joints of the armour with their knives';⁵ thus making havoc of precious lives, usually saved for ransom. But the French were not staved off with one repulse nor yet with two or three. Fifteen

¹ "Ainsy chevauchant par orgueil et envie, sans ordonnance, l'ung devenant l'autre, ils chevauchèrent tant qu'ilz virent les Angles rengiez en trois batailles . . . qui les attendoient. Adonque fut le honte plus grant, &c.;" Le Bel, II. 88.

² De Nangis, Cont. D'Achery Sp. III. 108; Grandes Chroniques, V. 460.

³ Froissart, I. 237; Baker, 84; Villani, 165.

⁴ Le Bel, II. 88; "Or tôt, tuez toute cette ribaudaille;" Froissart, sup.

⁵ Goldwin Smith, United Kingdom, I. 216.

several assaults were reckoned by the English, as wave after wave came forward, without concert or co-operation, to break on the stubborn lines of grounded spears, while battle-axe, sword and arrow did their deadly work.¹ Scorning to attack the archer *pedaille*, the French gentry pressed forward to exchange blows with the men-at-arms. The brunt of these successive attacks fell on the Prince's division, which directly faced the enemy's line of approach. The bodies of the fallen at the end of the day were said to be piled up high in front. At one time he felt constrained to appeal to the King for reinforcements. But Edward, who, from his post of observation above his son's head, could better see the course of events, refused to interfere. 'Let the boy win his spurs,' he said.² Probably the King saw the left division under Northampton descending from their height, and wheeling to the right, to take the enemy in flank, as they safely might. That the French reserves were brought into action is shown by the fact that Philip was wounded in the face with an arrow, and had his horse killed under him. The King of Bohemia, while retiring, fell mortally wounded by the side of the road to Fontaine-sur-Maie, about two miles from the English position.³

From first to last no attempt was made by the French to deploy into line, or arrange a continuous attack on the whole English front. Each contingent apparently went in on its own account.

The French were beaten off. But there was no question of any pursuit. The English hardly knew how complete their victory was: Edward kept his men under arms on the field all night. When day dawned a fresh host came in sight. These were contingents from Beauvais and Rouen, coming on in happy ignorance of what had happened. This supplemental battle—reckoned the sixteenth

¹ Baker, sup.; Knighton, 2588.

² "Qu'ils laissent à l'enfant gagner ses éperons;" Froissart, I. 239, 240. According to Baker, 84, the King did send twenty men-at-arms. (Note the strength of the alleged reinforcement.)

³ See Plan. John died in the course of the night. His body was sent to Luxemburg for burial; Baker.

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assault—was easily disposed of, and then the English were free to strip the dead, and to count their losses and their gains. The French chivalry had paid the forfeit of their insubordination. The list of the fallen included besides the King of Bohemia, two archbishops, one duke (Lorraine) and at least seven counts—Louis of Flanders one of them. The bodies of 1,542 knights and esquires were counted. On the English side a total loss of only 40 men was admitted, three or four of them being men-at-arms.¹

On Monday 28 August the English moved from Crécy, advancing towards Montreuil; next day they entered the town; and so, moving by easy stages, took up their position in front of Calais on the 4th September. Edward had resolved by all means to crown his raid by making a conquest of that important landing-stage.² Reports of the great victory were sent home, with requests for supplies; the army having so far been simply living on the country.³ Calais was a very strong place, well walled, and girt with a double foss, filled at every tide; it had an inner citadel, and was commanded by a brave and determined soldier, Jean de Vienne; while the soil outside, loose and sandy, was quite unfit to support heavy battering engines. Edward therefore made up his mind not to waste his resources in fruitless assaults, but to put his trust in the slow but sure process of blockade. Substantial huts were erected for the army; a wooden town soon sprang up protected by earthworks, and provided with ships, and stalls, and a market twice a week. "Villeneuve-la-Hardie" Edward named it in his pride.⁴ The only thorn in his side were the Genoese rovers, whose maritime ascendancy had not been crushed by the battle of Sluys, and who now interfered with the maritime blockades of the town.

¹ See the reports, Murimuth, 216; Avesbury, 368; Baker and Knighton, sup.; Le Bel. II. 93; Froissart, I. 239-243.

² Archaeol. XXXII. 384; Avesbury, 372; Le Bel, II. 93; and especially Baker, 86.

³ "Sour le pais," Avesbury, sup.; Foed. III. 89-91.

⁴ Baker, 89, 90, and Buchon, note to Froissart, I. 245; the encampment was placed between the town and a small stream that flows eastwards along the south side of the town, covering the English position.

To return to Gascony. John of Normandy had been obliged to drop the siege of Aiguillon about the 20th August, as we have seen. The Earl of Lancaster at once resumed the offensive. After reinforcing the garrisons in the Agenais he entered Saintonge (12 September); took Taillebourg and Saint-Jean-d'Angély. There he found a party of Englishmen who had been treacherously seized by Philip while travelling homewards under a formal safe-conduct from his son.¹ Niort withstood the Earl's assaults; pushing Northwards he took the castle of Lusignan, and finally carried Poitiers by storm (4 October). After a stay of eight days he returned to Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and finally to Bordeaux. About the close of the year he sailed for England to take up his title and estates.²

The English, however, continued to press their advantages; they captured Réalville and Mirabel in Quercy, and threatened all Languedoc. Their actual inroads came within six leagues of Albi.³

¹ Manny was the leader of the party; the Duke had high words with his father on the subject.

² See the Earl's report, Avesbury, 373; Le Bel, II. 99-107; Froissart, I. 246. Henry landed in London 13 January 1347. At his own request he was relieved of the Lieutenancy of Aquitaine; Avesbury; Foed. III. 104.

³ See Vic et Vaissete, IV. 260-263.

CHAPTER XX

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1346-1347

Parliament.—Scottish affairs.—Battle of Neville's Cross.—Financial extortions.—Capture of Calais.—The war in Brittany.—Return of the King to England.

CHAP. XX

1346
Parliament.

ON the 11th September (1346) a Parliament was opened at Westminster by the Regent, the King's son Lionel of Antwerp.¹ No session had been held since June 1344; the liberal supplies then voted were now exhausted, and the King was in need of money.

The Commons had their grumble, to which they were quite entitled; but they granted a Fifteenth from counties and boroughs for two years, if the war should last so long. The grievances of which complaints were made included the continued exaction of the 40s. duty on wool; the seizure of provisions without payment; the exaction of fines as commutation for service abroad. This last abuse suggested the constitutional demand that in future commissions of array should not be issued without consent of Parliament. On the other hand the lieges fully approved of the seizure of all ecclesiastical revenues held by foreigners; and suggested that alien monks and friars should be required to 'avoid' the realm by Michaelmas.

The 'grant' of the 40s. Aid for the knighting of the Prince of Wales, made by the Magnates at La Hogue, for the time escaped comment,² so did the unwarranted extra customs then given.

In connexion with matters of finance we may notice changes both in the gold and silver currency made this

¹ Lords' Report.

² Rot. Parl. II. 157-163. The clergy in their Convocation, held in October and January following, granted Tents for two years; Wilkins, Conc. II. 728; Knighton, 2592; Wake, 294.

autumn. The gold coinage issued in 1343, as well as a further issue struck shortly afterwards, had both failed, in consequence of the excessive deductions made for the King's seignorage and mintage dues. These charges were now reduced, and the number of 'nobles' to be struck from the pound Tower of gold fixed at forty-two, weighing ten grains each, and to pass for 6s. 8d. sterling. "At the same time the penny was reduced to twenty grains (Tower), or the pound of silver was to be shorn into twenty-two shillings and sixpence by tale." New "maillies" (halfpence) and farthings of silver also were struck. "The mailles to be of the weight of the standard of the Tower, and twenty-three shillings and three pence in number to the pound. The King to have for his seignorage of each pound of mailles six pence by weight; and the master, for all expenses &c., eleven pence by number; and the merchant the remainder. The master to have for the 'ferlinges' thirteen pence by number for each pound."¹

The year 1346 was destined to prove no less disastrous to the Scots than to their ally King Philip, foreshadowing the series of calamities, unrelieved by the smallest countervailing benefit, in which the unfortunate French alliance was destined to involve Scotland for two hundred years and more. Obedient to the King's call, raiders burst into Cumberland about the 1st August, and laid all waste from Derwent Water to Alston Moor.² About Michaelmas, King David, understanding that England had been drained of its resources for the siege of Calais, summoned a more regular army to meet him at Perth. The loose allegiance of a Scottish host was rudely shaken by the outburst of a furious quarrel between Ranald MacRuari, Lord of the Isles, and William Earl of Ross, when the former was assassinated in the neighbouring monastery of Elcho, with seven of his followers, by the orders of the Earl. As a necessary consequence the partisans of both factions

Scottish
Affairs.

¹ Ruding, I. 222; Foed. III. 93. Down to 1300 the penny had contained 22.5 grains Troy or 24 Tower of silver.

² Northern Registers, 386; Lanercost, 341; Foed. 89.

hastened back to their strongholds.¹ David, however, persevering in his purpose, began by laying siege to the Peel of Liddel, defended by Walter Selby. Walter, it will be remembered, was the accomplice of Gilbert Middleton in the celebrated outrage on the Cardinals near Ferryhill. Since that time his sword had been at the disposal of the highest bidder. Of late he had espoused the quarrel of Edward Balliol, from whom he received a grant of lands in Roxburghshire.² On the fourth day the walls were stormed; the garrison was put to the sword; and Selby beheaded as a traitor.³ It is said that the Knight of Liddesdale⁴ advised David to rest on his laurels and return home, the temper of the army not having recovered the shock of the recent dissensions. David, however, and his youthful advisers insisted upon marching on.⁵ They advanced to Lanercost and Naworth. Having wasted Cumberland in the summer, they now turned by Haydon to Hexham, remaining there three days. On the 15th October they marched from Hexham to Ebchester, and next evening halted at Beaurepair, now Bearpark, within sight of Durham,⁶ again venturing to stay in one place two whole days. The defence of the English Border had been entrusted to the Archbishop of York,⁷ in conjunction with the northern Lords Percy and Neville.⁸ Mustering their forces at Richmond on the 15th October they marched that day to Castle Barnard, and next day pitched their tents in the park at Bishop Auckland. On the morrow (Thursday 17 October) the Scots at Bearpark awoke in happy ignorance of the fact that an English army had spent the night within six miles of their quarters. William,

¹ Wyntoun, II. 258; Scotichr. II. 340; Knighton, 2590.

² Tytler, II. 81; Rot. Scot. I. 820.

³ 9th or 10th October, Lanercost, 344; Baker, 86; Northern Registers, 387; Scalacr. 301 (Leland's transcript); Hist. Dun. Scriptt. Tres, ccccxiv.

⁴ William Douglas, a cadet of the family, to be distinguished from William, the head of the family. ⁵ A. Wyntoun; Scotichr.

⁶ Lanercost, 346; Northern Registers, sup.; Scotichr. II. 341; Wyntoun, II. 260; Scriptt. Tres, sup.

⁷ William de la Zouche; consecrated at Avignon 7 July 1342; Stubbs, Reg. Sacrum. ⁸ Foed. III. 89; Rot. Scot. 670.

Lord Douglas was astir betimes with a band of men to ravage the south bank of the Wear. Near Merington, during a blinding storm of mist and rain, they ran against the English on their march from Auckland to Bearpark. Taken by surprise, the Scots were speedily routed, but Douglas got back to head-quarters with the loss of half his men.¹ Undeterred by this reverse, David, forgetful of his father's precepts, calmly prepared to engage the English, leading his men to the crest of some high ground overlooking the city of Durham, and known as Durham Moor, or the Red Hills, near a monument known as Neville's Cross.² The actual site of the action is now intersected by a deep cutting of the North-Eastern Railway. The Scots arrayed themselves in three bodies, in the usual circular "schiltrum" formation;³ the first was under John Randolph Earl of Moray and the Douglas; the second under the King in person; and the third under Dunbar Earl of March and Robert Stewart. It would seem that with their thoughts concentrated on resistance to cavalry, and forgetful of the advent of the long-bow on the theatre of war, the Scots posted their schiltrums one behind the other, on a roadway, or in some such cramped position, between banks and hedges and ditches.⁴

The English van was led by Henry Percy, Ralph Neville and Gilbert of Umfraville, Earl of Angus; the main body was under the charge of the Archbishop and John Kirkby Bishop of Carlisle;⁵ while Thomas of Rokeby and John, Lord Mowbray brought up the rear. The Earldom of Lancaster furnished the archery. We are told that the armies confronted one another about nine or ten o'clock, but that the action did not take place till the afternoon.⁶

¹ Lanercost, 347, 348; Wyntoun and Scotichr. sup.

² Baker, 88; Avesbury, 377. The foundations of the Cross exist. Mr. Raine, "St. Cuthbert," 106, is cited for proof of the existence of the Cross long before the time of the battle; Archaeol. Æliana, I. 279.

³ "In modum rotunde turris glomerati;" Baker, sup.

⁴ "Inter fossata et sepes . . . rex inter fossata irretitus;" Scotichr. "At hey dykes assembled thai;" Wyntoun, II. 263.

⁵ Consecrated 19 July 1332; Reg. Sacr.

⁶ "Circa horam tertiam;" Lanercost.

The delay might be attributed to a praiseworthy effort of the Durham clergy to effect a truce. Their overtures having been rejected with contempt, they were free to bring their spiritual artillery to bear upon the enemy.¹ "On a little hillock in the depth of Shaw Wood, called the Maiden Bower, the Prior with his attendants knelt round the holy corporax cloth of St. Cuthbert, which was elevated on the point of a spear within sight of both armies."²

Action being imminent, John Graham, Earl of Menteith in right of his wife, noting the deficiencies in the Scottish arrangements, begged to be trusted with 100 horsemen to ride down the archers, but not a trooper could he get. Left free to act the archers surrounded the leading schiltrum, pouring their volleys into the helpless mass, and when that was disposed of they dealt likewise with the second division; apparently not a man in the two leading corps escaped death or capture. Dunbar and Stewart in the rear, seeing the turn that matters were taking, retreated in time, and so got away in safety. David was wounded in the face with an arrow and taken prisoner. John Coupland, a stout Northumbrian "chevaldour", secured him after a hand-to-hand struggle, in which the King managed to knock out two of his captor's teeth.³ The Scots must have made a retrograde fight of it, as David was taken in a thicket by the bridge over the Browney, on the road to Esk and Hexham; while the struggle finally ended at Findon Hill, further on, and about two miles from Neville's Cross. At least fifty men of rank, including Duncan Macduff Earl of Fife, John Graham Earl of Menteith, Malcolm Fleming Earl of Wigton, the Knight of Liddesdale and a bastard brother John Douglas were taken prisoners. Among the fallen were the Earls of Moray and Strathearn, David de la Haye the Constable, Robert Keith the Marshal and Thomas Charteris the Chancellor of Scotland.⁴ Most precious

¹ Lanercost, 351; Knighton, 2590.

² Surtees, *Genl. Hist. Durham*, I. i.

³ See Lanercost, 348-351; *Northern Registers*, Baker, and Knighton, *sup.*

⁴ For the casualties see Knighton, *sup.*; for the prisoners, *Foed. III.* 95, and Baker, with Sir E. M. Thompson's notes, p. 265. See also the contemporary ballad in Stevenson's *Illustrations of Scottish History*, 63 (Maitland Club).

of the trophies won on the Red Hills was the Black Rood from that day forth for ever lost to Scotland. Presented as an offering to St. Cuthbert, it was hung up in Durham Cathedral, side by side with the national flag of Scotland and other banners captured on the same fatal day.¹ Percy and Neville gave chase, and received the submission of Roxburgh and Hermitage castles.²

But England could never rest satisfied with such paltry acquisitions as the sole fruits of a signal victory. In the course of the ensuing spring an efficient little army of 480 men-at-arms and as many horse-archers was raised to serve in Scotland for a year, with Percy, Neville, Umfraville and other Norman barons, all under Edward Balliol.³ Robert Stewart had been appointed Regent by the Scots, but he made no attempt to resist the English, and allowed them to occupy the Southern parts of Scotland as ceded by the Roxburgh document. The counties of Berwick, Roxburgh and Dumfries; the districts of Carrick and Galloway, with the Forests of Ettrick and Selkirk 'came to King Edward's peace'. The new March was understood to run from Cockburnspath on the Berwickshire coast, along the line of the Lammermuirs and Pentlands, through Corse Cryne near Biggar in Lanarkshire, and so to the Ayrshire coast.⁴

According to feudal laws of war prisoners taken in battle were the property of their captors, and so the English leaders had shared the men taken at Neville's Cross, as lawful spoils—'to each man a Scot or two'. But the political influence and value of these Scotsmen was such that the Regent insisted upon their being brought to

¹ Hill Burton, *Hist. Scotland*, III. 26.

² Fordun, 347; Knighton, 2591.

³ Foed. III. 109. The men received pay in advance for a quarter, the horse-archers at 6*d.*, the esquire men-at-arms at 1*s.*, and the knights at 2*s.* a day. The quarter came to £3,223 3*s.* 4*d.*; Knighton gives Balliol's force as 300,000 men besides 20,000 under Percy (!), c. 2592.

⁴ Scotichr. II. 346; Rot. Scot. I. 679-706; Scalacr. (Leland's translation), 103. The French original is wanting from 1340 to 1355; Hill Burton, III. 28. From his base in Carrick, however, John Kennedy of Dunmure waged steady war on the Balliol faction in Galloway.

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the Tower. Before these orders could be enforced the Earl of Wigton and others found means to escape. Coupland placed his Royal prize at Bamborough, in the hands of Lord Neville, and only surrendered him in consideration of a grant of £500 a year in fee; banneret's rank; and a special royal pardon for all 'homicides, felonies and robberies committed by him during his life.¹ On the 2nd January 1347 David II was brought in triumph to London; the trade Gilds turned out to receive him in their distinctive liveries.² The fallen monarch was placed on a tall black charger, and so led from street to street till he reached the Tower—his chief abode for eleven years to come. The Earls of Fife and Menteith were arraigned as traitors. Menteith had been sworn of Edward's Privy Council. Fife had sworn allegiance to Edward Balliol. Both were condemned in accordance with written instructions sent over from Calais. Menteith suffered; Fife was respited, out of regard for his mother, Mary of Monthermer, a granddaughter of Edward I.³

The idea of the Scots that England had been drained of its resources for the siege of Calais, though exaggerated, was not without some foundation. From the month of September 1346, when the blockade began, till the place surrendered in August 1347, we have a continuous stream of calls for ships and men and stores.⁴ Then there were troops on foot in Flanders, and troops on foot in Brittany;⁵ there was the army in Scotland; and there were garrisons in Aquitaine. Altogether the government was sorely pressed for money. All the old expedients were brought into requisition, with some new ones. Loans, large and small, were contracted with merchants, native and foreign;⁶ natives who refused to lend were attached and brought

¹ Foed. III. 95, 98, 102; Knighton, 2591.

² "Quolibet artificio per se in propria secta vestibus honorifice distincto;" Foed. 99; Knighton, 2592.

³ Foed. 108; cf. 41. Mary of Monthermer, a person unknown to the Peerage books, was probably an early born child of Ralph of Monthermer by Jeanne of Acre.

⁴ Foed. *passim*.

⁵ Foed. 100; Avesbury, 384; Lobineau, I. 339.

⁶ Foed. 102, 121.

before the Council.¹ On the 3rd March 1347 the Regent summoned a small council of merchants, and obtained from them a form of sanction for the imposition of new surtaxes for the support of the blockading fleet, namely an export duty of two shillings on the sack of wool, and import duties of two shillings on the tun of wine, and sixpence on the pound of general merchandise (*avoirdupois*);² being apparently a continuation or legalization of the customs kindly granted by the Magnates at La Hogue the previous year. An arrangement also was made for a financial operation of the sort already described; 20,000 sacks of wool were to be 'borrowed' from the owners, on the security, apparently, of the current Fifteenth;³ the merchants would take the wool at a price, and account for the same to the Treasury. The transaction would probably be profitable to the merchants who received large discounts and allowances, but oppressive to the owners of the wool, and ruinous to the general trade, which was paralysed for the time being, the exportation of all other wool being prohibited.⁴ Supervisors were appointed to bustle the collectors of customs, and draw on them for the proceeds in advance,⁵ while, finally, the clergy who had been called upon for wool in April, were subjected in August to further requisitions in wool or money, a mere unauthorized tallage.⁶ At £5 the sack, a medium price, the wool alone demanded of them would come to £6,200.

All this time Edward was sitting quietly before Calais. Philip's neglect of the besieged garrison passes comprehension. It seemed as if he had been stunned by the blow received at Crécy, and deprived of all power of action. More than six months elapsed before a step was taken.

¹ Foed. III. 122.

² Rot. Parl. II. 166; 3rd D. K. Rept., Appendix II. 164; Stubbs; Lords' Report, IV. 563.

³ Foed. 116; Knighton, 2592; 3rd D. K. Rept. sup. 20,000 sacks were said to have been 'granted'.

⁴ Foed. 126, 146.

⁵ Id. 124.

⁶ Id. 131. The receipts for the year, the 21st of the reign (1346-1347), came to £246,113 5s. 3d., a little below those of the 12th year (1337-1338), which exceeded £265,000; Pell Rolls.

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1347

At last on the 25th March (1347) he held a council of notables and burgher deputies, and begged for help to avenge the defeat of Crécy. Supplies were voted, and an early day named for a muster. Very little notice, however, was taken of the King's writs, and fresh orders had to be issued for the 20th May.¹ Edward heard of this movement and made the most of it in his appeals to England (14 May). The ever ready Henry of Lancaster, who, at his own request, had been recently relieved of his command in Aquitaine, hastened to the rescue.² But the Duke of Normandy did not appear in the field till the 8th June, when he made sundry attempts to approach Calais from the East. But he found the English position unassailable, while his own flank and rear were exposed to the attacks of an Anglo-Flemish garrison established at Cassel.³ On the 25th June the blockading squadron scattered a flotilla advancing from the West, to the relief of Calais; next morning, at daybreak, a boat was intercepted in the attempt to convey a letter from the Governor to Philip, informing him that 'dogs and cats and horses were no longer to be found in Calais', and that cannibalism or a sally stared him in the face.⁴ The last access for supplies had been cut off by the English, who had run a jetty of piles down into deep water, so that small boats could no longer get in by "hugging the shore", out of reach of the blockading squadron.⁵ Edward politely forwarded the letter to its destination; but a whole month elapsed before Philip came within sight of Calais. At last, on the 27th July the French army was seen approaching from Guines.⁶ The hopes of the starving city began to rise, but the Oriflamme halted on the heights of Sangatte. The English position was not more open to assault from the West than from the East. Philip had but two approaches

¹ Sismondi, X. 117, 125; Le Bel, II. 127.² Foed. III. 104, 120, 121.³ Avesbury, 384; Knighton, 2592, 2593.⁴ See de Vienne's letter and the covering report to England; Avesbury, 386 Knighton, 2593; Pol. Poems, I. 82.⁵ Baker, 90.⁶ Baker, 90, gives 23rd July as the day of their arrival at Guines. From the 17th to the 21st July an advance of the French from Hesdin was expected in the English camp; Delpit, Documents Français, 74.

to choose between ; one by a causeway beset with swamps, and leading up to a bridge, the bridge of Nieulay ; the other over sandhills exposed to a flank fire from the English ships anchored along the beach. The French Marshals declared either way equally impracticable. The army pitched its tents, and the mediating Cardinals¹ once more came to the front.² Negotiations were opened, Philip being anxious to save Calais, or at all events to rescue the garrison. The English were ready to discuss any point except Calais ; the French would talk of nothing but Calais ; three days of talk left them exactly where they were before. Then, as a last resource, Philip made an offer of battle—if the English would come out of their stronghold. Edward accepted the challenge, in terms, but gave no sign of sacrificing his vantage-ground, while an Anglo-Flemish army was advancing to support him. On Thursday the 2nd August, at daybreak, Philip fired his camp and retired in despair.³

Satisfied that hope of succour there was none, John de Vienne now lowered his flag and asked to treat.⁴ Life and limb for all within the walls was all that he asked. But Edward affected to be very indignant at the prolonged resistance offered to his ' rights ' ; he talked about reprisals, and insisted upon surrender at discretion. Now we may take it for granted that anything like a massacre of the chivalry would not have been tolerated by Edward's own followers, if he himself had ever thought of such a thing.⁵ If the leaders were to be spared, the soldiers must be spared ; and if all the combatants were allowed to go free, how could the non-combatants be sacrificed ?⁶ Slaughter in cold

¹ Annibale Ceccano, Bishop of Tusculum ; and Etienne Aubert, Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul ; Froissart, I. 267, note Buchon.

² Avesbury, 390, 391 (Edward's dispatch) ; Le Bel, II. 129 ; Froissart, I. 264.

³ See the King's account, Baker, 90. Cf. Le Bel and Froissart, sup., and Knighton, 2594, 2595. The King's letter was written before Calais had opened its gates.

⁴ Baker, 91 ; Knighton, 2594.

⁵ See the speech attributed by Le Bel, II. 134, to Walter Manny ; and compare the attitude of Savary de Mauléon towards King John in 1215, after the capture of Rochester Castle.

⁶ i.e. in the case of a capitulation ; in the case of a place taken by storm the reverse often happened ; the leaders being spared and their followers sacrificed.

blood was out of the question ; but, to soothe the ruffled feelings of the King, a solemn pageant was arranged. A deputation taken equally from the leaders of the garrison and the *bourgeoisie*, with de Vienne at their head, were required to bring the keys of the town and castle, and to lay them at the King's feet, with every mark of humblest submission ; they were required to come ungirt, bareheaded, and barefooted, with halters round their necks. De Vienne, who was suffering from gout, was allowed to ride a humble palfrey. In such fashion they came, and presented first ' a sword of war ', secondly the keys, and thirdly ' a sword of peace '. Edward affected to frown. But Philippa, who must have joined him when Calais fell, falling on her knees, begged for mercy for Christ's sake. The King relented, at once received the men to his peace, and ordered provisions to be sent into the town. But a full meal taken after long privation proved fatal to many.¹

With this dole the King's grace began and ended. In June he had refused to allow 500 useless mouths expelled from the town to pass through his lines, condemning them to perish miserably of hunger.² Now de Vienne, with fifteen other knights, and as many citizens, were sent as prisoners of war to England ; while the bulk of the population were provisionally turned out of house and home, and sent forth into the world, with nothing more than they could carry in their hands.³

But Crécy, Neville's Cross, and Calais did not " exhaust " the triumphs of the twelvemonth. Yet another gallant deed of arms must be added to the list. In December 1345 La Roche-Derrien in Brittany⁴ had been wrested

¹ 4 August ; see Baker, 91 ; also Knighton, *sup.* ; *Grandes Chroniques*, V. 482. Avesbury, 395, 396, gives the date as the 3rd August. Philippa's presence is introduced by Le Bel, II. 138, expanded by Froissart, I. 268-272. In May or June 1348 the Queen gave birth to a son ; see below, p. 353.

² So Knighton, 2593. Le Bel, II. 96, places the incident at the beginning of the siege, and represents Edward as giving the people leave to pass, together with a meal and 3*d.* apiece ; Froissart, II. 245, raises the number to 1,700 souls.

³ See the Ordinance, Foed. III. 139 ; Baker, *sup.* ; De Nangis, Cont. III. 109 ; Le Bel, 140. Eustace de Saint-Pierre, the leader of the burgher deputation, however, received a pension Foed. 138.

⁴ Côtes-du-Nord.

from the House of Penthièvre by the Earl of Northampton, who garrisoned it with Englishmen, on behalf of the young de Montfort. About the end of May 1347 Charles of Blois, the rival Duke of Brittany, laid siege to the place with battering engines and a considerable army. Prepared to be attacked, he entrenched himself in a fortified camp, clearing the country all round of any hedges or fences that might offer cover to English archers. Thomas Dagworth, "one of the ablest of the English soldiers," appointed King's Lieutenant of Brittany in succession to Northampton,¹ came promptly to the rescue. On the afternoon of the 19th June, coming from the South, he halted at Bégard, ten miles from La Roche. Two roads were open to him: one, apparently the more frequented, down the left bank of the river Jaudy; the other, more circuitous, down the right bank of the river on which the town and Charles's camp stood. Charles had persuaded himself that the English would come down the left bank, and so had detached a part of his force to meet them there, with orders not to move till they were attacked. But Dagworth, shunning the risk of crossing the river in face of the enemy by a narrow bridge, wisely took the roundabout route down the right bank of the Jaudy, and so 'about a quarter before dawn' on the morning of the 20th June fell on de Blois' camp. In the darkness a confused *mêlée* ensued, the French having no watchword, and endeavouring to clear the situation by lighting torches. When day dawned the tide was turned; the garrison sallying in force took the French in the rear, and gave a complete victory to the English. De Blois fought heroically with his back to a wall, and only yielded his sword after he had been wounded in seventeen places. His whole force was cut up and dispersed, the losses including the most influential men of his party. He himself was detained in Brittany for a year and more, till his injuries were healed, and then sent to England to keep company with David II in the

¹ January; Foed. III. 100, 102. Dagworth took out 80 men-at-arms, 120 archers, 40 servants; 240 all told. K. R. Excheq., "Army," Bundle 25, No. 18.

Tower.¹ The French cause in Brittany was thus at the lowest ebb.

Edward now felt that he could rest on his laurels, and listen to the voice of the peace-maker. The Cardinals were there ready to reopen negotiations at the first hint. On the 28th September a truce was signed to last till the 9th July 1348; all possible allies on either side would be comprised, including Castile, Arragon, Brittany, the Low Countries, Burgundy, Lorraine, the Genoese, and the Scots—if they cared to come in. But it was again agreed that their refusal to accept the truce should not affect its validity as affecting all others.²

Since the capture of Bergerac by Henry of Lancaster in August 1345 Edward's enterprises had met with a success that seemed astonishing to the men of his time. The military capacity and personal prowess of his subjects had been signally illustrated. On the other hand the actual gains were not very great. The King, no doubt, had re-established his position in Aquitaine, and secured in Calais an important stepping-stone for future attacks on France. But, after all, the bulk of the warring had been on defenceless peasantry. Among the triumphs for which the devout chronicler thought that thanks were due to God³ were the 'wasting and exiling' of Gascony to the borders of Toulouse, of all Poitou, and 'the great county of Brittany'. In his own person Edward had 'wasted and exiled'⁴ the Cotentin; the county of Evreux up to Paris; the Amienois, the Beauvaisis, and the county of Ponthieu, his own possession—in all the greater part of six modern Departments. The chronicler goes on: 'I hold that honour cannot be withheld from the very noble King whom God has so evidently been

¹ See Lavissee, IV. 65; A. de la Borderie, *Hist. Bretagne*, III. 502; and Dagworth's report, Avesbury, 388. He gives his force as 300 men-at-arms and 400 archers. His estimate of the French force is very large. Strange to say La Roche was recovered in two months' time by a sudden assault; La Borderie, 506.

² See the lengthy document, in the original French, *Foed.* III. 136; in Latin, Avesbury, 396.

³ "A grande grâce de Dieu."

⁴ "gasté et exillié;" properly *essilié*=ruined.

pleased to help.' ¹ At home, the war, being waged on foreign soil, had not been very onerous to the people; but it had demoralized the baronage, whose policy and tastes, since the days of John Lackland, had been uniformly domestic and pacific.²

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Edward remained some days more in Calais organizing a government for his new acquisition. Covering forts were established at Merck and Oye. Englishmen were invited to settle; the place was declared a free port, and received a confirmation of all its old 'customs and franchises', a fact which suggests that perhaps the expulsion of the old population was not so complete as the chroniclers would lead us to believe.³ Calais would thus become not only "a strong place of arms", but a commercial centre; and in pursuance of this policy, in the following month of April, Calais was declared the sole Staple for all tin, lead, feathers, cloth and worsted to be exported from England for seven years; merchants before leaving England to be sworn to carry such goods to Calais and nowhere else.⁴

Return to
England.

On the 12th October Edward landed at Sandwich,⁵ after an absence of just fifteen months. Short as the crossing was, he managed again to encounter very bad weather; ships and men were lost. 'Holy Mary,' said he, 'why is it that when I go abroad the weather ever smiles on me, and frowns when I return?' ⁶

Humbler individuals have experienced this seeming fatality.

¹ Le Bel, II. 142; one of the passages omitted by Froissart out of regard for the French.

² For French spoils in England see Walsingham, I. 272.

³ Foed. III. 130, 138, 143.

⁴ Foed. 158. For the full list of all the men with Edward at any time from the 4th June 1346 to the 12th October 1347, and the amount of their wages, see Appendix on next page.

⁵ Foed. 139.

⁶ Murimuth, Cont. 177 (ed. Hog); Mon. Malm. Cont. 294; Baker, 96.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XX

CHAP. XX Account of Walter Wetewang, Treasurer of the House-
 1346-1347 hold, for wages of war in the retinue of King Edward III
 in the parts of Normandy, France and round Calais, 4th
 June 20 Edw. III (1346) to 12th October 21 Edw. III (1347),
 namely for one year and 131 days.¹

<i>Rates of pay.</i>	<i>Number of persons.</i>
At 20s. 0d. a day	The Prince.
6s. 8d. "	The Bishop of Durham.
" "	Earls, 15.
4s. 0d. "	Barons and Bannerets, 44.
2s. 0d. "	Knights (<i>milites</i>), 1,046.
1s. 0d. "	Esquires (<i>scutiferi</i>), Constables, Hundreders (<i>centenarii</i>) and Leaders (<i>Ductores</i>), 4,022.
6d. "	Twentymen (<i>vigintenarii</i>) and horse-archers, 5,104.
" "	Pauncenarii, 355.
" "	Hobelers, 500.
3d. "	Archers on foot, 15,480.
At from 3d. to 12d. a day	<i>Cementarii, Carpentarii, Fabri, Ingeniatores, Pavil- lionarii, Minarii, Armatores, Gunnatores, and Artillarii</i> , 314.
At 4d. vinteners, rest at 2d., Welsh foot, 4,474.	
Masters, constables, mariners, and <i>pagetti</i> of 700 ships, barges, balingers and victualling ships (<i>vitalliarum</i>), 16,000.	
Total of men without the <i>Domini</i> , 31,294.	
Total of wages, £127,201 2s. 9d.	

Here it may be pointed out that the total wages at the given rates for the given number of soldiers, if all had been employed for the 496 days, without any allowance for the sailors, would come to £349,651 1s. 4d., little more therefore than a third of the 31,294 men, say 11,000 men, can have been employed on the average during the whole time. If the £127,201 2s. 9d. includes pay for the sailors, as it presumably did, the average number would only come to 7,000 men. For the organization of the army by twenties and hundreds, commanded by Twentymen and Hundreders or Constables, see Dawn, p. 342, and Chancery Miscell. Bundle 3, No. 18.

¹ Printed by Brady, Hist. England, II, Appendix 86, from a manuscript in his possession.

CHAPTER XXI

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1348-1350

Peace Rejoicings.—The Order of the Garter.—Parliament.—Constitutional Remonstrances.—The First Plague.—Attempt on Calais.—Naval action off Winchelsea.

THE return to England under such circumstances, and after so prolonged an absence, was followed, naturally enough, by a period of triumphant carousal. The festivities, of course, took the shape of tilts and tournaments, the tilt-yard being the race-course of the period. Between the date of the King's return and the end of January 1348 jousts were held at Bury, Eltham and Windsor: after that at Canterbury, Lichfield, and Lincoln. Down to the 1st May nineteen were appointed to be held—eight of them at Westminster. On the 24th June an especially grand tournament was held at Windsor for the churching or *Relevailles* of the Queen, who had recently given birth to a son, William.¹ The court ladies paraded their charms in the spoils of Caen and Calais, and shocked the public by the extravagance of their fashions, and affectations of masculine attire.² The enduring outcome of these social gatherings was the final establishment of the Most Noble

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Rejoicings.

¹ Knighton; Baker, 101 (given as under 1349); Nicolas, Orders of Knighthood, I. 15. The little Prince died in 1349; Devon, Issues, p. 153. The King of Scots appeared at one of these tournaments and tilted; the armour worn by him is preserved at Windsor; Green, Princesses, III. 141.

² Knighton, 2597; Walsingham, I. 272. *Outré* taste in dress was an especial feature of this period of history. All Europe was infected with a passion for extravagant shoes, extravagant head-dresses, harlequin suits, &c.; see *Grandes Chroniques*, V. 463; James, "Black Prince," I. 292; also a picture in the *Accademia delle Belle Arti* at Florence of a Florentine wedding; cf. below, p. 455. For fancy dresses worn at the King's plays at Guildford at Christmas, 1347, see Nicolas, Orders of Knighthood, I. 15. At Christmas or the Epiphany next year the King appeared in a suit of white, with an English motto on his shield, "Hay, Hay, the Wythe Swan; By Gode's soule I am thy man"; Archaeol. XXXI. 43. On another occasion he wore a doublet embroidered with, "It is as it is"; Warton, Hist. Poetry, II. 86.

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Order of
the Garter.

the Order of the Garter, which had been passing through a process of incubation since the beginning of 1344. Mantles and garters with the motto "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*" were ordered for the King and twelve Companions for the Eltham tournament in January. Nine of the original Knights jousted on that occasion. "There is strong almost conclusive evidence that the foundation was complete before August.¹ The King and Prince of Wales, 24 canons, 24 knights companions, and 24 poor knights made up the complete order."²

Parlia-
ment.

Meanwhile business had not been neglected. On the 14th January a Parliament had met at Westminster.³ The proceedings were opened in the King's presence by William Thorpe, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The King, he said, wished for the advice of his lieges upon two points: first as to the conduct of the war against his adversary, 'which had been undertaken by common assent of all, given in divers Parliaments;' and secondly as to the better maintenance of the peace at home. The latter request, which was thrown in by way of testifying to the King's interest in domestic concerns, amounted to an admission that the government was unequal to the discharge of its primary functions; while the first request was an ingenious device for throwing the responsibility of the war upon the Commons, and obtaining a supply without seeming to ask one. The Commons took the King at his word. They made no offer of any subsidy; and they disclaimed giving any advice upon so great a matter as war. 'Whatever His Highness and the Great Men of his Council would please to ordain that the Commons would hold as firm and established.'⁴ Upon the subject of the peace of

¹ See the extracts from the Wardrobe Accounts given by Nicolas, *sup.*, I. 13; and Archaeol. XXXI. 1; cf. Ashmole's Garter. The founder's statutes are dated in April, 1349, which Ashmole accepts as the date of the institution; but this seems almost an impossible date as the Plague was then at its height.

² The number of the canons and poor knights was afterwards raised to 26, to bring their respective numbers up to that of the Companions, plus the King and Prince of Wales.

³ Lords' Report, 14 January-12 February.

⁴ Rot. Parl. II. 164, 165. The King had specially sent the Earl of Lancaster to say that he did not ask for any grant; *Ib.* 200.

the realm the Commons had plenty to say. Brigandage flourished under the sheltering protection of magnates;¹ powerful criminals could purchase royal pardons at will (Articles 6, 53, 62); new forms of treason were daily elaborated by the ingenuity of the royal judges (15); the course of justice was paralysed by the extension of the private franchises (17); commissions of array were still being issued; prisage and purveyance were indulged in as freely as ever; the King's 'men' quartered themselves on private houses without proper billets from the marshal, and went off in the morning without making payment; the King's studs were driven from parish to parish, eating up the country (16, 33, 37, 57). Complaint was also made of the impressment of shipping—a grievance hitherto passed over with little notice (57). Fresh protests were entered against the exaction of loans by the Privy Council; and the continuance of old and new surtaxes on wool, wine, cloth and tin—all without due sanction (11, 28, 29, 31). The extortions practised by the farmers of the customs, and the purchasers of the wool 'borrowed' from the counties, were dragged to light (38, 49, 54, 58, 61). Again, the government had undertaken to provide convoy to Flanders, on receiving an insurance premium of 1s. a sack. The shillings had been taken, but no convoy provided, whereby some merchants lost their wool, others their wool and their lives (58, cf. 68). To crown all, such parcels of wool as succeeded in making their way to Bruges found the market there destroyed by differential dues levied by the Flemings (10, 58). On two points the Commons prayed for statutory enactments. They begged, first for a definition of the crime of treason, and secondly for a prohibition of Papal 'Provisions' (15, 50, 63). The complaint under this last head was especially full and emphatic.² With every allowance made for exaggeration ample grounds for complaint will still remain.

¹ Cf. G. Baker, 179. In the previous year John Dalton carried off Dame Margery de la Beche and committed two murders in doing so; Foed. III. 114, 118. For disorders near Bristol, see Ib. 126.

² Rot. Parl. II. 165-174.

The Parliament having proved a failure the King within two days of its rising issued writs for a fresh session for the 31st March.¹ On this occasion he wasted no time in beating about the bush, but told the Commons at once that he must have a subsidy. The Commons, after noticing the general satisfaction caused by the intimation conveyed to them in the last Parliament that the King did not wish to take anything from his lieges, proceeded to recapitulate the burdens to which they had been subjected, not forgetting the Aid for knighting the Prince of Wales, 'taken without the assent of the Commons, contrary to the Statute of 1340, and at double the customary rate.' Nevertheless, on condition that the grant to be made should not be anticipated or 'turned into wool'; that the eyres of the justices at *nisi prius*, justices of trailbaston, and Forest justices should cease;² that the 40s. duty on wool should cease at the expiration of the current 'grant', that was to say at Michaelmas; that no such 'grant' should ever again be made by the merchants; that no tallage or loan should again be imposed by the Privy Council without consent of Parliament; that the Aid for marrying the King's daughter should be suspended in the meantime; that proper answers should be given to the petitions presented in the last Parliament; and that the conditions of the grant should be entered of record on the Parliament Rolls, they agreed to give Fifteenths and Tenths for three years more, if the war should last so long.³ "The King accepted the grant, and accorded most of the petitions, but no new statute was founded upon them, a fact which seems to prove that the oppressions complained of were recognized as illegal."⁴

The reference to the Aid for marrying the King's daughter

¹ Lords' Report.

² In connexion with this we may notice that the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace, or wardens of the peace, as they were called, was at this time more popular than that of the King's justices, probably because the former had no fiscal work to do; see e.g. Rot. Parl. II. 174-202.

³ Rot. Parl. 200; Knighton, 2596; Foed. III. 187.

⁴ Bp. Stubbs.

was occasioned by the fact that the King was arranging to marry his second daughter, Jeanne or Joan of the Tower, to the Infante Pedro, eldest son of Alphonso XI of Castile. The little Princess, however, died on the way to Spain.¹

One 'great' matter on which neither Parliament had been consulted was an offer of the Imperial Crown made to Edward. On the day before Edward landed in the autumn Louis of Bavaria died, and died excommunicate—"the last Emperor excommunicated by the Pope".² Louis's party, rather than submit to 'the priests' King' as they called him, offered the crown to Edward. The King took time to consider; but all classes of his subjects joined in deprecating the proposal. The Margrave of Juliers came over with conciliatory offers from Charles IV; he would support Philippa's claim in Hainault—he might possibly give some aid against France—&c., &c. On the 10th May 1348 Edward wrote finally to decline.³

The King was in no mood for further adventures, and in fact inclined towards peace in general. In April negotiations had been opened for the liberation of David II. Scottish envoys had been invited to London, and the King of Scots had been allowed to take part in some of the Court festivities at Windsor. But Edward demanded a larger ransom than the envoys were prepared to promise. An extension of the truce therefore was the only arrangement effected. Queen Joan then resolved to try the effect of personal influence with her brother. She applied for a safe-conduct, which was granted in very cordial terms (10th October). She was allowed to see her husband "but not to share his imprisonment". After a few months she returned to Scotland.⁴

It will be noticed that for a little money Edward was

¹ Foed. III. 147, 150, 152, 171, 176.

² 11 October; Pauli, II. 415; Milman.

³ Foed. 144, 161; cf. 181; Baker, 97; Sismondi, X. 348, citing Olenschlager, p. 387. Knighton mentions the Queen as being specially averse, 2597.

⁴ Foed. 158, 163, &c.; Knighton, sup.; Green, Princesses, III. 138; Baker, sup.

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prepared to sacrifice the hold on the Scots obtained by the custody of their King, and by the same token to sacrifice his 'man' Balliol, also.

Towards France Edward showed himself equally disposed for peace. Some difficulty occurred in connexion with forts round Calais recently built by the French, counter-works, as the English contended, and infringements of the peace.¹ But eventually a fresh truce was signed to last to the 1st September 1349. Edward watched the proceedings with anxious interest, and held himself for three weeks at Sandwich, ready to cross at a moment's notice.²

The peace-making of the autumn closed with a tripartite treaty between the King of England, Louis II of Flanders, surnamed de Maël, and the three cities of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres.³ True to the memory of his father the young Count had fled from the hands of his subjects, rather than wed the English princess pressed upon him.⁴

The first
Plague.

The time indeed was one to bury the hatchet and make peace, when the Destroying Angel was knocking at each man's door. From the far East, from time-honoured "centres of faith and pilgrimage",⁵ the Black Death, or bubonic plague, came rolling over the Western world. Infectious and contagious in the highest degree, this malignant form of typhus, having reached Cyprus at the

¹ Baker, 98.

² Foed. III. 166, 170-178.

³ 10 December; Foed. 178.

⁴ In March 1347 during the siege of Calais the young Count was brought face to face with Edward at Bergues, and was made to sign an agreement to marry the King's eldest daughter Isabelle. On his return to Ghent he gave the slip to his attendants and escaped to France; see Foed. III. 111; Le Bel, II. 115; Froissart, I. 258; Sismondi, X. 320, &c.

⁵ According to a report published by the Imperial German Government the chief cradle of the disease is to be found in the North-West corner of the Persian Empire, in the highlands of Azerbaijan, between Mount Ararat and the Caspian; and the disease itself is probably connected with the immemorial practice of carrying dead bodies in caravans, without any regard to sanitation, for burial in holy places in the upper Euphrates valley. If all outbreaks of the plague are to be attributed to these death-diffusing pilgrimages, the practice must be far older than the time of Mahomet. For a history of these outbreaks see Petermann, Mittheilungen, July 1879, cited Tout.

end of 1347, appeared during the following month of January in Provence, where "Narbonne was ruined for ever", and Avignon almost depopulated. From Provence it spread to Guienne, where the Lady Jeanne or Joan fell a victim to it on her way to Castile, as already mentioned.¹ By that time it had devastated Italy, and thoroughly penetrated France and Germany. On the 7th July it made its appearance at Melcome on the Dorsetshire coast,² having evidently been brought by sea. Westwards and northwards it travelled through Devonshire and Somersetshire to Bristol, where it committed great ravages. The Gloucestershire authorities endeavoured to cut off communication with Bristol, but in vain: the plague soon entered Oxfordshire. In the North on the 28th July Archbishop de la Zouche ordered public prayers for deliverance from the threatened scourge, offering Indulgences on the usual conditions.³ The mortality was such as to interfere seriously with the harvest operations of the autumn; women and children had to be put to field-work.⁴ By the 1st November the plague had made its way down the Thames to London; it appeared at Norwich in January (1349), and thence spread Northwards.⁵ On the 1st January a Parliament that had been summoned for the 19th of the month was prorogued, and eventually countermanded.⁶ The courts of law were closed; the King "threw everything on the Chancellor", and retired to Langley.⁷ The extent of the mortality, and the rapidity with which the sickness carried off its victims "bewildered and appalled the writers of the time". Fresh burial grounds had to be provided, the existing graveyards being insufficient. Two new places of sepulture were established in London, one upon thirteen acres of ground in Smithfield, bought by Walter Manny, on part of which land he subsequently

¹ 2 September 1348; Jeanne had been originally affianced to Albert of Austria, but Edward broke off the match in 1340; Green, *Princesses*, III. 339, 357.

² *Eulogium Hist.* III. 213.

³ *Northern Registers*, 395.

⁴ Baker, 99; Knighton, 2599; *Eulogium*, 214.

⁵ *Foed.* III. 180; *Lords' Report*.

⁴ *Eulogium*, 215.

⁷ *Foed.* 181.

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1349 founded a Carthusian monastery (1371), to become later the site of Charter House School. The other graveyard was provided by the liberality of the Bishop of London, Ralph Stratford, 'in a croft called Nomansland', afterwards known as Pardon Church Yard, about a quarter of a mile from Smithfield.¹

The malady seldom ran more than two or three days; a swelling under the arm-pit, a black spot on the skin, and the man knew that he was doomed. The young and vigorous suffered most, while the old and weakly were spared. But of course the pestilence essentially made havoc of the poor, the wealthier classes suffering little. As usually happens in great crises men were affected in various ways. Some sought for distraction in dissipation, others took refuge in self-immolation and mystic devotion, as with the Flagellants of Germany, some of whom visited London late in the year. About Whitsuntide the plague had spent its fury in London, and was raging at York.² There it had done its work by July.³ Lancashire was not reached till the autumn.⁴ A Scottish raid undertaken on the strength of the report that England was "smitten of God and afflicted" served to carry "the foul dethe of Engeland" over the Border.⁵ Ireland was visited in August, the mortality at first attacking the English, though eventually it spread to the natives.⁶

Not many men of rank are found among the sufferers. Wulstan Bransford Bishop of Worcester, the Abbot of Westminster, Thomas, Lord Wake of Liddel, John, Lord Falconberg, Robert, Lord Bouchier, with John Montgomery,

¹ Baker; Wheatley and Cunningham, "London". "The memory of Pardon Churchyard was till recently preserved in Pardon Passage and Pardon Court in St. John St., Clerkenwell."

² Avesbury, 407, 408. See generally Knighton and Baker, *sup.*; De Nangis, *Cont. D'Achery*, III. 110; Le Bel, I. 203. Froissart dismisses the subject in three lines. See also Kitchin, *France*, 407.

³ Avesbury, *sup.*; W. Thorne, *Decem X*, 1732; Birchington, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 42.

⁴ Tout, citing *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, V. 524.

⁵ Knighton, 2600; *Scotichr.* II. 347; Wyntoun, II. 271.

⁶ For details Professor Tout refers to J. Clyn, *Irish Archaeol. Soc.*, 1849. See also F. A. Gasquet, *Black Death*, 81-224.

Governor of Calais, and John Pulteney four times Mayor of London are among the chief victims that have been identified.¹ In addition to these men three Archbishops of Canterbury passed away within twelve months' time. John Stratford, the King's old adviser, died full of years on the 23rd August 1348. As a reward of his services Edward "seized all his property, just as Henry II would have done".² The Canterbury Chapter, without waiting for the *congé d'élire*, elected Thomas Bradwardine the Oxford scholar, mathematician and theologian, distinguished among Schoolmen as *Doctor Profundus*, who, withal, was military chaplain to the King at the time. But Edward preferred his chancellor, John of Offord;³ and Clement at his request 'provided' him (24 September). Offord, a delicate man, afflicted with paralysis, succumbed to the double strain thus thrown upon him. He took the plague and died (20 May 1349).⁴ All parties then concurred in the promotion of Bradwardine. The monks elected him, the King accepted him, the Pope 'provided' him; he went to Avignon for confirmation; returning hastily to the sphere of his duties he landed at Dover on the 19th August. On the 26th of the month he fell a victim to the pestilence at Lambeth, one of the last of its victims.⁵

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1349

Three
Primates
in twelve
months.

Of the total mortality it is impossible to form an estimate. Chroniclers' numbers in such a connexion are not more trustworthy than on other subjects. Thus one writer alleges that from the 2nd February to the 12th April (1349) two hundred corpses a day, or 140,000 in all, were buried in Manny's cemetery alone.⁶ We would ask whether there were 140,000 souls, or anything like that number, to live or die in all the London of the time?⁷ Even the

¹ Barnes, 439. It is not clear, however, that the Bishop of Worcester did die of the plague.

² Birchington, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 41, 42; Dene, *Ib.* 375; Bp. Stubbs, II. 422, note.

³ Appointed in 1345, in succession to Robert of Sadington; Foss, III. 473; he again had succeeded Parning, the first lay chancellor.

⁴ Foed. III. 173, 179.

⁵ Reg. Sacr.; *Angl. Sacr.* I. 43, 376. For Bradwardine's writings see Hook, *Archbishops*, IV. 80, &c., and Lechler, *Wiclif*, I. 229.

⁶ Avesbury, 407.

⁷ For an estimate as to the possible population of London see below, II. 94.

50,000 recorded by the monument that Stow saw we regard as a mere popular conjecture. On the other hand the specific instances given, and the facts that have been ascertained, no doubt, would warrant almost any estimate. We are told that the Bishop of Rochester out of a moderate household lost four priests, five esquires, ten serving men, seven young clerics and six 'pages' (*pagetos*, boy-servants). At Halling nunnery two abbesses died in quick succession; the duties of the office had to be divided, because there was no sister left who was equal to the undivided charge.¹ At St. Albans at least forty monks died.² At Croxton Abbey in Lincolnshire all the full brethren seemingly died, except the Abbot and Prior.³ In the North "the vacancies recorded in the livings during the year show that the Yorkshire priests had fallen like leaves before the gale". In the West Riding ninety-six incumbents died out of one hundred and forty-one parishes; in the East Riding sixty died out of ninety-five parishes. The Archdeaconry of Nottingham lost sixty-five priests from one hundred and twenty-five cures. In the diocese of Norwich incomplete lists show vacancies in five hundred and twenty-seven parishes out of seven hundred and ninety-nine. In Herts about half the incumbents died.⁴ There were not priests enough left to administer the sacraments of the Church. The Pope gave leave to dying persons to confess to laymen, 'or even to women' (*vel etiam fœminis*); while in the ensuing year leave was given to the Bishops to hold as many as four extra ordinations, if necessary.⁵ All the vacancies, however, in the parishes need not have been death vacancies. There might be two or three translations arising from one death vacancy.

For the mortality among the agricultural population the

¹ Dene, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 375.

² *Chron. Angliae*, 27 (Rolls Series, No. 64, Sir E. M. Thompson). Walsingham in the *Gesta Abbatum*, II. 370, gives the number of deaths as forty-seven.

³ *Foed.* III. 235.

⁴ See Northern Registers, xxxi; and the extracts from the York lists, and lists in Blomfield's Norfolk, and Clutterbuck's Herts, given by Mr. Seebohm, *Fortnightly Review*, II. 150.

⁵ Northern Registers, 400, 401; Wake, 295.

most telling piece of evidence is the fact that for some sorts of labour wages were doubled.¹ But it would be rash to infer that half the population had fallen. A sudden diminution having occurred among the hands bound to servile labour, those free to dispose of their time would make their own terms. With respect to the clergy, as to whom alone the evidence of the mortality is conclusive, we must remark that the parochial clergy, in discharge of their sacred duties, would be the most exposed to infection of any class; while the crowded dormitories of monastic houses, if once infected, would become hot-beds of disease: the same consideration would apply to the households of large establishments, where again the mortality was said to be very high. With respect to the actual population of the country, taking the amount of land apparently under cultivation, and the presumptive yield of corn of all sorts, and allowing one quarter for each soul per annum, Mr. Seebohm would infer a total population of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Professor Rogers would not go beyond 2 millions. But both attach too much credit to chroniclers' numbers.²

The social and economic results of the Great Plague were very considerable. If the highest rates of wages were not maintained, still a substantial general increase was established, leading to prolonged struggles by the government and the landlords on the one hand, and the labourers on the other hand, the former seeking to keep down wages by legislative enactment; the latter resisting their efforts with complete success. From first to last the labourers proved masters of the situation. In spite of proclamations and penal acts,³ employers had to come in to their terms, or submit to see their land lie fallow. More than that landlords, probably, had to make concessions to their small tenants to induce them to remain. But to a great extent the bond tenants refused to remain under bondage conditions.

¹ Rogers, *Prices*, I. 306; II. 311. The salaries demanded by chaplains and vicars rose equally, if not more; Knighton and Dene, *sup.*

² *Fortnightly Review*, II. 149, 268; IV. 87.

³ *Feod.* III. 198, 210; *Statutes*, I. 307-309; Knighton, 2600, 2601.

With good day's wages to be earned elsewhere they threw up their holdings, absconded, and so bought their freedom by severing their connexion with the land.¹

At such a period no thought of active war could be entertained. On the 3rd May the truce with France had been extended to the 16th May 1350.² During the year 1350 England was still in a state of collapse; no Parliament was held; but preliminary ordinances against the rise in wages were issued, forbidding servants to demand or employers to give more than the rates current in 1346.³ Few salient incidents happened, but on two occasions the King's energy and love of fighting were again made manifest.

The first was in connexion with a plot laid by the French to recover Calais, in violation of the truce. Geoffrey de Chargny, governor of Saint-Omer, offered money to one Amerigo of Pavia, a Free Lance in Edward's service, who was stationed in the castle.⁴ Amerigo agreed to take the money and then sent word to Edward. A careful plan was arranged to entrap de Chargny, and the King and Prince of Wales went over quietly to see to its execution. When the day for admission of the French came, de Chargny was taken over the castle, to satisfy himself that the coast was clear, and no foul play to be feared. But Edward had built in a body of men behind a mock-wall that escaped detection; he had also weakened the drawbridge, and posted a man on the gate-house with a huge stone, to crush the drawbridge at the proper moment. The first detachment of the French were then admitted in the dark, and at once overpowered by the men in ambush, while the destruction of the drawbridge cut off help from outside. Then the King and the Prince, sallying from gates on opposite sides of the town, fell on the main body coming up along a narrow causeway and surrounded them. De Chargny

¹ See Mr. Seebohm's article, *Fortnightly Review*, II. 272.

² *Foed.* III. 182, 184.

³ *Id.* 198.

⁴ Amerigo received a naval appointment in April 1348; *Foed.* 159. No appointment to Calais has been found.

himself and thirty men of rank were taken prisoners. The King was in the thick of the fight, laying about him and shouting "Ha! Edward St. George, Ha! Edward St. George,"¹ and had the satisfaction of overcoming one Eustace de Ribeaumont, a distinguished French knight, in single combat. He was so pleased with the affair that he set Eustace free and gave him a handsome chaplet of pearls.²

The other incident of the year was a naval engagement off Winchelsea, a new sphere of action into which the King, by way of a change, plunged fearlessly. An armed Spanish fleet, trading with the Low Countries for cloth, was charged with having committed piratical ravages on English shipping in various quarters,³ under the lead of Don Carlos de la Cerda, younger brother of Don Louis of Spain, who fought with the French in Brittany in 1342.⁴ Edward, determined to punish the offenders, made careful preparation against their return.⁵ On the 10th August they were reported as shortly about to loose from Sluys on their way homewards. A few days later the King went down to Winchelsea accompanied by two of his sons, the Prince of Wales, and John of Gaunt—the latter a boy ten years old—the Earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, Arundel and Hereford, and in short by the whole court circle.⁶ According to the rather florid account given by Froissart, they went down piping and dancing, as if bound on a yachting party, and not on a very serious and almost desperate adventure. Robert, Lord Morley was again in command of the Northern fleet; while the flotilla included twenty ships with crews varying from 30 to 80 and

¹ So Avesbury. Was Edward speaking English or French? The words might be either.

² December 31, 1349–1 January 1350; Baker, 103–107, and notes; Avesbury, 408–410; Le Bel, II. 147; Froissart, I. 276–281.

³ Knighton, 2602; Avesbury, 412; Baker, 109; Froissart, I. 284.

⁴ Sismondi, X. 239, 379. The Infantes de la Cerda were the great-grandsons of Alphonso X and, according to ordinary rules of succession, rightful heirs to the throne of Castile. Their claims were always supported by France.

⁵ Foed. III. 195, 196; H. Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 102.

⁶ Baker, sup.; Nicolas, 104, 112, q.v. for further names.

CHAP. XXI 100 men each, besides barges and pinnaces, some fifty sail
 1350 in all.¹ About the 28th August the King established himself on board his favourite "cog", the *Thomas*. In high spirits, he sat in the prow dressed 'in a black velvet jacket and a beaver hat that well became him'.² About 4 o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday 29th August the approach of the enemy was signalled. With the wind in their favour they might easily have declined action, but the proud Dons scorned to do so. Fighting being the order of the day, the King and his knights 'drank a cup of wine and donned their armour'. The Spaniards are stated to have had but forty or forty-four ships in all, but of much heavier build, and their big 'busses' (*buscee*) fairly towered over the English vessels.³ They had castles on their poops, and men in crows'-nests in the tops, provided with stones for throwing (Balearian slingers?). But again the archers with their greater range soon silenced the stone-throwers and cross-bowmen, driving them to hide their heads behind their bulwarks; the English then came forward with ladders for boarding, and a series of desperate hand-to-hand encounters ensued.⁴ According to Froissart, who tells us that he had his facts from men who were engaged,⁵ the King ordered his steersman to lay him aboard of a leading Spaniard. The man obeyed, and the royal cog was nearly sunk by the impact; her mast snapped in two, and all the men in the top were drowned. Before the King's knights could grapple the enemy she had forged ahead; they managed, however, to lay hold of another vessel, and fought desperately to win her, as their own ship was making water fast. After an arduous struggle, carried on at several points at once, they succeeded; and thereupon transferred the King and crew to the prize. The Prince of Wales found himself in even greater danger; his vessel

¹ Foed. III. 200; Baker, 109. For names of the ships see Foed. 195, and Nicolas, 120, from the Rolls.

² Froissart.

³ "Quasi castra casellis supereminebant," 'towered over them as castles to cottages,' Baker.

⁴ Baker, 110.

⁵ p. 286.

was on the point of sinking when he was rescued by the Earl of Lancaster.¹ Seventeen ships had been taken by the English when night came on. They anchored, hoping to follow up their advantage in the morning; but the remaining seven-and-twenty Spaniards were no longer to be seen. No less than eighty young men of birth were said to have been raised to the honours of knighthood on the occasion,² an unprecedented number.

¹ Froissart, I. 185-187.

² Baker, 110, 111; Avesbury, 412. One good result of the action was that a truce for twenty years with the maritime cities of Castile and Biscay was concluded in the following month of August; Foed. III. 328.

CHAPTER XXII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1350-1354

Death of Philip VI of France ; accession of John II.—Lapse of Truce of Calais.—The Breton War.—Battle of the Thirty.—Battle of Maunon.—Hostilities in Aquitaine.—Scottish affairs.—Domestic affairs.—Statutes of Labourers and Provisors.—Church affairs.—Statute of Treasons.—Staple Regulations.—Statute of Praemunire.—Failure of the peace negotiations.

CHAP. XXII

1350

Death of
Philip VI.

His acqui-
sitions.

JUST a week before the naval action off Winchelsea, namely on Sunday 22 August, Philip of Valois, the sixth of the name, died, aged fifty-eight years. In the month of January he had married a lovely girl of eighteen, his cousin, Blanche of Navarre, sister to Charles the Bad.¹ Blanche had been promised to John of Normandy—both father and son having lost their wives in the plague. But the King, on seeing the damsel, fell violently in love with her and took her to himself.² His reign, calamitous and disgraceful as it was, had nevertheless contributed something to the great work of the unification of France. In the spring of 1349 he had made the final arrangements for the acquisition of Montpellier, with the Roussillon and Dauphiné. Montpellier and the Roussillon were purchased from the Arragonese Prince, James, King of Majorca. Dauphiné was bought from Humbert II, the last "*Dauphin de Vienne*", who retired to a convent. The principality was conveyed to the King's grandson, Charles the Dauphin, afterwards Charles V. From the time of his accession to the throne

¹ Charles and his sister were children of Jeanne, daughter and heiress of Louis Hutin by Philip of Evreux ; Jeanne had the crown of Navarre in right of her mother Jeanne of Champagne, wife of Hutin. See pedigree above, p. 212.

² See Sismondi, X. 364-367, and the authorities there cited ; also *Grandes Chroniques*, V. 490-495. Queen Jeanne died 11 December 1349. Philip married again 11 January 1350.

of France the title of 'Dauphin' became the recognized style of the heir apparent.¹ CHAP. XXII

France, however, had gained little by the accession of her new King *Jean le Bon*. The epithet in his case was not applied in any high sense, it merely meant 'John the Good Fellow', the light-hearted lover of mirth and glee. He was in many respects like his father King Philip, but a more interesting character, with more sense of personal honour; but otherwise not a better man, and certainly not a better king. He was a man of undoubted personal courage, but dull, obstinate, and ignorant of all that a king should know. He gave free rein to unworthy advisers, men of low caste and no character, who abused his confidence, and betrayed him with impunity. Revelling in pomp and show, living for feasts and tournaments, his only ambition was to shine as a gallant knight. Yet the coronation festivities ended with the execution of the Constable, the Count of Eu, just released from captivity in England, under circumstances amounting to judicial murder.² 1350
John II
King.

The truce between England and France was held to have lapsed by the death of Philip. He had offered to extend the armistice to the 1st of August 1351, and Edward in November signed an authority to confirm the arrangement. But King John apparently refused his consent³—an initial piece of folly—which might be put down to braggadocio, and wish to pose as being afraid of nothing. In consequence hostilities were resumed after the New Year (1351). In Brittany the predatory warfare carried on in the names of the two Ducal competitors had never ceased. About July, Dagworth, Edward's representative and general manager in Brittany, had been defeated and killed at Auray⁴ by a Free Lance of the name of Croquart. With Dagworth apparently had been initiated that horrible system of making money out of the war, and maintaining bodies of

¹ See Lavissee, IV. 83-86; Sismondi, X. 354-359.

² See Sismondi, 370-379; Lavissee, 90-92, 170; Kitchin, France, 422.

³ Foed. III. 197, 207; compare 214, 225.

⁴ Dept. Morbihan; Grandes Chroniques, V. 494; Knighton, 2602; Avesbury, 411.

CHAP. XXII mercenaries, in well-being and comfort, by the systematic
 1351 levy of 'ransoms' or *pâtis*, protection money—just the *tenserie* of Stephen's anarchy—from the peasantry of the country districts. Later we shall find Edward farming Brittany to his lieutenants at heavy rents, the lessees being endowed with all the powers of government, and a 'free hand as regards choice of agents and measures' to enable them to pay the rent.¹ Irritation at the loss of Dagworth, or remonstrances at the cruelty of the English—the accounts differ—led to a desperate duel fought by appointment within lists between thirty Bretons of the de Blois faction and an equal number of the English side. These being unable to muster more than twenty of their countrymen had to make up their number with Bretons, Germans, and Flemings. The parties met halfway between Ploermel and Josselin on Mid-Lent Sunday (27 March) 1351. After a lengthy struggle, broken by an interval for breathing time, the English were beaten; eight men and the captain were killed; the rest then surrendered.² Among the latter were Hugh Calverley and his kinsman and comrade Robert Knowles, the great future Free Lance, and master of the art of war. A year and a half later, however, namely, in August 1352, Walter Bentley, the new English commander,³ and Robert Knowles had their revenge, defeating a considerable army brought by Gui de Nesle the French Marshal to support the cause of Charles of Blois. The action was fought at Mauron, between Rennes and Ploermel. It would seem that de Nesle, adopting English tactics, dismounted his men-at-arms for the action.⁴ But that did not save him, as Bentley gained a complete victory. Among the fallen were some fourteen knights of the new Order of the Star, just founded by King John, to rival, and, if possible, eclipse Edward's Order of the

Battle of
the Thirty.

Battle of
Mauron.

¹ La Borderie, sup. 507; Tout, Pol. Hist. III. 381; Foed. III. 427, 431 (1359).

² See Lobineau, I. 343; Le Bel, II. 163; Froissart, I. 293. The *Battle of the Thirty* became a great theme of Breton song. One ballad on the subject has been printed; Crapelet, 1835. The reader will compare the battle fought on the North Inch of the city of Perth on the 25th September 1396 by two sets of Highland clansmen, oddly enough, again thirty a side; Scotichr. II. 240; Wyntoun, II. 375.

³ Appointed 8 September 1350; Foed. 204.

⁴ Tout, Engl. Hist. Rev. XXI.

Garter. The new-fledged institution, however, succumbed under this blow.¹

With the battle of Maunon ended the second period of the Breton war; the struggle, however, continues, with fewer incidents, and broken by frequent truces.²

In Picardy, in April 1351 Robert Herle, newly appointed Captain of Calais, sallied out and ravaged the district.³ After Easter (17 April) Henry of Lancaster came out. He had just been created Duke, the second in English history, and was on his way to join a Crusade in Prussia against the heathen. Having set foot in France he felt bound to do something. He attacked Boulogne, burned the lower town, and attempted to escalate the fortified upper town, the former camp of Caesar's lieutenant, Labienus. The scaling ladders, however, were too short, and the attack failed. To make up for this disappointment Lancaster wasted the whole country from Etaples to Thérouanne and Saint-Omer, and burned all the shipping in the harbours.⁴ Later in the year Herle was superseded in favour of John Beauchamp, brother of the Earl of Warwick. Beauchamp in turn went out to plunder and to harry; but his enterprise proved less successful; he was defeated and taken prisoner by the French.⁵ By the month of September, however, both parties were so weary of the war that a truce was signed, to last to the 12th September 1352; but, as the Leicester chronicler very fairly puts it, on the understanding that either king should be at liberty to disregard it if it suited him.⁶ Accordingly in January 1352 we find a party from Calais surprising Guisnes.⁷

The War
in France.

The French likewise had resumed operations in the South. Early in 1351 they laid siege to Montréal in the Agenais,

¹ 14 August. See Avesbury, 315, and Bentley's report to the Chancellor, Id. 316; Baker, 120; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 6. For the Order of the Star see Froissart, I. 299 and notes.

² La Borderie, 422.

³ Baker, 114. Herle's command began 1st April; Foed. III. 193.

⁴ Baker, 114; Northern Registers, 402; Knighton, 2602.

⁵ 6 June; Baker, 115; Froissart, 295; Foed. 236.

⁶ Foed. 227, 232; Knighton, 2603.

⁷ Baker, 116; Avesbury, 414; Le Bel, II. 167; Froissart, 298, 299.

CHAP. XXII and probably about the same time recovered Poitiers.¹
 1351 They also laid siege to Saint-Jean-d'Angély (*Charente-Inf.*). A force led by the son of the Sire d'Albret marched to the rescue from Bordeaux. Advancing down the left bank of the Charente to Taillebourg, they found the bridge there—the scene of one of Henry III's exploits—occupied in force: they fell back to Saintes; the French followed, and were defeated, losing many valuable prisoners.² Satisfied with what they had done the Gascons returned to Bordeaux, leaving Saint-Jean to its fate. The place held out for four more months, and then surrendered on honourable terms.³ In Gascony, as in Brittany and the North-East, the war again for a while died down.

Edward had not been able to make much of his royal prisoner, David of Scotland. In spite of constant efforts he had failed to bring the Scots to agree to 'final peace'. At first he wanted money; that not being forthcoming he fell back on the old homage question, demanding a recognition of the overlordship of England as the price of the King's liberation; if the homage could be obtained, apparently, he was ready to sacrifice Balliol.⁴ David came into the scheme, just as the Claimants of 1292 had done; and so also did the next most important prisoner, William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale. Conferences were held at Hexham and Newcastle, and arrangements made for allowing David to visit Scotland, in order to sound his people on the subject. On the 20th March 1352 he sealed a recognition of homage⁵ and was allowed to cross the Border. The Scots with one voice rejected the proposal, and the unfortunate King returned into captivity, his wife Queen Joan remaining in the country of her adoption.⁶

¹ Vic et Vaissete, IV. 273.

² 8 April; Avesbury, 413. Le Bel and Froissart place the action in or after May.

³ Le Bel, II. 155-160; Froissart, I. 290. The *Grandes Chroniques*, VI. 4, place the fall in September.

⁴ See Rot. Scot. for 1350 and 1351 *passim*. Balliol protests, and Edward assures him that whatever happens he shall not suffer; Id. II. 739-741, 787.

⁵ Ayloffe, Calendar of Charters, 299, where the year is given as 1351, wrongly.

⁶ Rot. Scot. 749, 750; Foed. III. 241, 242; Knighton, 2603; Issue Rolls, Devon, 156, 157; Green, Princesses, III. 143.

According to the well-informed author of the *Scalacronica* the Scottish magnates were not very anxious to have their King back. They had recovered most of the territory occupied after Neville's Cross; "there was much envy among them who might be hyst; for every one rulid yn his owne cuntery."¹

The fate of the Knight of Liddesdale may be taken to illustrate the last remark. He had succeeded in effecting an honourable arrangement with the King of England on his own account. He was set free on condition of serving Edward at his own cost as against all men, 'except the Scots', and 'his own liege lord'.² Douglas returned to his estates, to fall by the hand of his kinsman and godson, the head of the family, William, afterwards first Earl of Douglas.³

After an interval of nearly three years, on the 9th February 1351 a Parliament was again brought together, and met at Westminster.⁴ The session proved fruitful in the matter of legislation. Four Acts were passed, three of them at the instance of the Commons. The first declares the children of English parents born abroad to be as fully entitled to inherit as children born at home, a measure probably suggested by the birth of two of the King's sons abroad.⁵ Another Act enforces the provision of the Statute of Northampton for the due 'ulnage', i.e. the standard admeasurement, of pieces of cloth.⁶ The second chapter of the Act enforces the Statute of York passed in the 9th year, for securing the freedom of domestic trade, whether carried on by 'aliens or denizens'.⁷ As a set-off to this, the third chapter prohibits 'forestalling'; that is to say, wholesale dealings, and speculative transactions in goods and commodities, such operations being held conducive to the enhancement of prices.⁸ But the Acts numbered as the 2nd and

¹ *Scalacr.*, Appendix, 303 (Leland's translation), Collect. Vol. II. 564.

² July 1352; Rot. Scot. I. 746, 748, 752; Foed.

³ August 1353; Fordun; Scotichr. II. 348; Rot. Scot. I. 761.

⁴ Lords' Report; Rot. Parl. II. 225.

⁵ 25 Edw. III, st. 1; Statutes, I. 310.

⁶ 25 Edw. III, st. 3; Statutes, I. 314.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. 315, and Rot. Parl. II. 231-232; for further measures see Foed. III. 217.

CHAP. XXII

1351

Statute of
Provisors.

4th of the year were the really interesting measures, being the celebrated Acts respectively known as the Statute of Labourers and the First Statute of Provisors.¹ The resolutions of the Parliament of 1343 had denounced sweeping penalties of imprisonment and forfeiture against all persons introducing Papal Bulls for 'prejudicial' purposes, or for getting possession of Church preferment by virtue of the same. But no definite mode of procedure was prescribed. The present measure seems to grapple more vigorously with the evil. It 'establishes and ordains' that the rights of canonical electors, and of spiritual and lay patrons shall be respected; it orders all Provisors (i.e. persons availing themselves of Papal Bulls), or their proctors, to be arrested, and kept in prison, until they shall make 'fine and redemption' to the King's satisfaction; it declares all presentations made by Papal 'Provisions' or 'Reservations' to be wholly void, and confers the right of filling up such vacancies upon the King, at least in all cases where the invaded patronage belonged to spiritual patrons.² It will be seen that the party who gained most by the Act was the party most to blame for the continuance of Provisions, namely, the King, a point to which we shall refer more fully below.

Statute of
Labourers.

The Statute of Labourers gave Parliamentary sanction to the ordinances already published by the King in Council against the 'malice of servants', who refused to serve 'Great Men and others' for the wages accustomed before the Plague. Labourers must hire themselves out by the year, and not by the day; hay must be mown for 5*d.* the acre, the current prices being from 6*d.* to 12*d.*; a quarter of wheat or rye must be threshed for 2½*d.*, 'if so much was given before,' the current rates being 3*d.* and 4*d.* the quarter.³ The regulations extended to all descriptions of handworkers, carpenters, stone-masons, tilers, bargemen, shoemakers,

¹ Statutes, I. 311, 316.

² 25 Edw. III, st. 4; Statutes, I. 316; Rot. Parl. II. 232. The preamble of the Act recites the Statute of Carlisle as prohibiting 'Provisions'. So also Rot. Parl. II. 144. The penalties appointed by the present Act were supplemented in the next session.

³ Rogers, II. 312.

jewellers, tailors, and the like. All kinds of servants, artificers and workmen must be sworn before justices to lend their services for rates of pay below those obtainable in the open market. "Ceppes" (stocks) must be set up in every town for the punishment of 'rebels'.¹ Altogether the Act was a vigorous attempt to make water flow uphill.

Nosubsidy was voted, probably because the triennial grants made in 1348 were not yet exhausted, but the 40s. duty on wool was at last voted, and voted for two years.² Weary of protesting against unconstitutional grants obtained from magnates or merchant assemblies, the Commons probably came to the conclusion that if they submitted to vote the tax themselves they might eventually obtain a substantial control over it. The day that Parliament rose the King issued writs for Convocations, and obtained from the clergy grants of Tenths for two years.³

The Statute of Provisors marks a double era in the history of the English Church; it marks the beginning of the breach with Rome, and it marks the practical end of the capitular election of bishops. Both clergy and laity had realized the fact that if they would put an end to Papal interference they must make it worth the King's while to co-operate with them. The laity probably cared but little for the rights of canonical electors, but even the clergy thought that of two evils, they would rather have their bishops named by the King than by the Pope; and accordingly the Act was so worked as to make over all "the reality of the appointments" to the Crown. When a See fell vacant the Chapter received, together with the *congé d'élire*, the name of the person that the King was prepared to accept. "He also, by letter to the Pope, requested that the same person might be appointed by Provision. With equal subserviency the Chapters elected and the Pope provided."⁴ The eventual position of the Crown of

End of
Canonical
Elections.

¹ 25 Edw. III, st. 2; Statutes, I. 311; Rot. Parlt. II. 233.

² Rot. Parlt. 229.

³ Foed. III. 214; Wake, 296.

⁴ Hook, Archbishops, IV. 115. See a proclamation issued by the King in March 1353; Foed. 256.

CHAP. XXII England as the heir of the Papacy is thus already fore-
 1351 shadowed.

New
 Primate,

The passing of the Act must be associated with the policy of the new Primate, big Simon of Islip.¹ An Oxford man and a Fellow of Merton College, he had worked his way up in the official school under the auspices of Archbishop Stratford and Bishop Burghersh; the latter made him Canon of Lincoln, the former made him Dean of Arches. He was introduced to the King; "he rose rapidly in the royal favour": he became one of the King's confidential clerks, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. Stratford looked to him as his natural successor.² Stratford, however, as we have seen, was succeeded first by Offord and then by Bradwardine; after that came Simon's turn; the Canterbury Chapter elected him, and the Pope, again ignoring the fact of the election, 'provided' him. On the 20th December 1349 he was consecrated at St. Paul's.³

Parlia-
 ment.

On Friday the 13th January 1352 a session of Parliament was again opened at Westminster.⁴ On the 17th of the month the Commons were summoned to the Royal presence in the White Chamber. William of Shareskill, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, opened the proceedings. He dwelt on the King's 'succession by inheritance'⁵ to the crown of France; on the war; the repeated infractions of the truce; and the continued resistance to the King's 'rights' offered by 'John the son of his late adversary'. The King thanked the Commons for their past 'aids', and requested them to be ready, prepared 'to advise on the said matters, in the Painted Chamber, next morning, directly after sunrise'. Still further to expedite matters, Shareskill suggested that the Commons should delegate twenty-four or thirty of their number, to meet some of the 'Great Men' in the Painted Chamber, the rest of the Com-

¹ His supposed coffin, opened at Canterbury in 1787, measured 6 feet 10 inches in length inside; Hook, sup. 112.

² Id. 113; Birchington, Angl. Sacr. I. 41, 43; Foed. III. 139.

³ Reg. Sacr.; Angl. Sacr. sup. 43.

⁴ Lords' Report. The session rose on the 11th February.

⁵ 'Succession de heritage.'

mons retiring to the Chapter House, to receive the report of the delegates, and so come to a final accord. The kind suggestion was not acted on. On the Friday—not on the Wednesday—"the whole House presented itself." The Prince of Wales received them, and the Chief Justice delivered another speech; but no immediate agreement was effected. The upshot of several conferences was that the Commons again voted Fifteenths and Tenths for three years, and the King agreed to pass several acts, of which the most important was the so-called Statute of Treason.¹ The recent multiplication of "constructive" treasons had already been matter of complaint; the King therefore agreed that for the future the legal offence should be limited to the following cases: (1) Compassing the death of the King, his Queen, or his eldest son; (2) Debauching the Queen, the eldest unmarried daughter of the King, or the wife of his eldest son; (3) Levying war against the King within the realm; (4) Adhering to the King's enemies within the realm, or giving them comfort or aid within or without the realm; (5) Counterfeiting the Great Seal, or the King's money; (6) Importing base coin knowing the same to be base; (7) Slaying the Chancellor, the Treasurer, or any one of the King's Justices, being in his 'place' and doing his office. To establish a conviction under either of the first four heads the Act requires an overt act to be alleged, and proved to the satisfaction of a jury of persons of the same condition in life as the accused.²

Statute of
Treasons.

The fifth and sixth heads have been repealed to make way for more suitable enactments:³ the other sections remain the law of the land to this day. It may be noticed that conspiracy to levy war against the King is not specified as a treasonable act, a clear omission, which has been met in practice by charging such acts as cases of 'compassing' the King's death. The miscellaneous provisions of the Act

¹ Rot. Parl. II. 236-242.

² 25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 2; Statutes, I. 319; Rot. Parl. II. 239. On the Act see Stephen's Blackstone, IV. 210.

³ 11 Geo. IV and 1 Will. IV. c. 66, and 2 Will. IV. c. 34.

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1352

included one declaring all persons who should purchase a 'Provision' to an abbey or priory liable to the penalties of outlawry and forfeiture, penalties subsequently known by the dread name of *Praemunire*.¹

The quiet resistance offered by the Commons to the insidious suggestion of the Chief Justice shows how fully on their guard they were in their dealings with the King. In July an innovation of a disquieting appearance was introduced. Writs were issued directing the return of one knight from each shire, and one burgess from nine seaport towns, with two from London and one from York. The assembly, however, appears merely to have acted in aid of the Council. "It was not, in fact, so dangerous as were the conferences with the merchants;" and no complaint of its proceedings was raised in Parliament.²

On the 23rd September 1353 another anomalous assembly met at Westminster; the lay and spiritual peers were summoned, with one belted knight from each shire, and two burgesses from each of thirty-eight towns. "This body acted very much as a parliament", but it is described on the Rolls as a 'Council' and its acts were not at first enrolled as Statutes.³ It was in fact an expanded merchant assembly, summoned to sanction a change of mercantile policy.

The attitude of the government with regard to Staples, fixed marts to which traders were compelled to resort for the sale or purchase of certain kinds of goods, had always fluctuated according to the political or economic views prevalent from time to time at Court, or the influences that might be brought to bear upon the King. For the administration the concentration of traffic would facilitate the collection of dues; while local interests would be keenly alive to the importance of securing a monopoly of important business. "The growth of the system must date from the reign of Edward I, who had bought the town of Antwerp

¹ 25 Edw. III, st. 5, c. 22; Stephen's Blackstone, IV. 240.

² Bp. Stubbs, II. 428; Lords' Report, IV. 593, &c.

³ Bp. Stubbs, sup. 429.

from the Duke of Brabant, and established there the foreign centre for the wool trade.”¹ Here the purpose of developing his new acquisition is obvious. Edward II established domestic Staples in sixteen of the principal towns at home, the foreign Staple being removed from Antwerp to Saint-Omer. The home Staples were all abolished by the Northampton Parliament of 1328; having been re-established, they were again put down by the York Parliament of 1334.² In 1341, to secure the Flemish alliance, Edward had set up a foreign Staple at Bruges; in 1347 it was transferred to Calais. Now the King had been persuaded to re-establish Staples of wool, leather and lead at home, keeping on Calais as the foreign Staple.³ The Council gladly gave its assent, and the details of the new arrangement were settled between the peers and the commoners. Ten Staple towns were named for England, one for Wales, and four for Ireland; but the curious thing is that natives were prohibited under the severest penalties from exporting Staple goods, or being in the smallest degree interested, directly or indirectly, in the sale of them abroad, or even receiving payment abroad for what they had sold at home. On the other hand every encouragement was offered to foreign merchants to visit England with their goods. The prior rules forced the English wool-grower to send his wool to Bruges, for the benefit of the Flemings: now the idea was to force the foreign buyer to come to England for his wool, the avowed object of the measure being to replenish the realm with gold, silver, and foreign merchandise.⁴ The regulations as subsequently confirmed by a regular Act of Parliament amount to a code of Staple law, and became the foundation on which all subsequent legislation on the subject was based. The ordinances show that the merchants attending a Staple

¹ Bp. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* II. 431, citing *Foed.* II. 206. A foreign Staple had existed previously at Dordrecht; A. L. Jenckes, *Staple of England* (Philadelphia, 1908).

² *Foed.* 879.

³ *Statutes*, I. 332.

⁴ 27 *Edw. III.*, st. 2; *Statutes*, I. 332; *Rot. Parl.* II. 246-253. For the principles of the “Mercantile System” and the “Balance of Trade” see A. Smith, *“Wealth of Nations,”* Book IV.

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1353

were treated as a community apart, living in quarters appointed for them, electing their own mayors and constables, who governed and judged them, not according to Common Law, but according to Law Merchant, usages that had grown to have the force of laws, which the merchants were sworn to maintain. In some cases the Merchants of a Staple had already obtained corporate recognition, with a seal of their own.¹ Thus it would seem that the system involved the establishment of a gild, or close corporation of men authorized to deal in the Staple articles in each Staple town, these men being known as the Merchants of the Staple. Thus the system put limits not only on the places where, but also on the persons by whom, the Staple article might be dealt in. For these Staple gilds, however, we might compare the modern Stock Exchanges or Coal Exchanges.

In consideration of the passing of these popular measures the assembly took on itself to grant a continuance of the surtaxes on wool, leather and lead for three years from Michaelmas.²

But the assembly did not confine itself to mercantile affairs. It also passed an Ordinance subjecting all persons who should sue in foreign courts for matters cognizable in the King's Courts to the penalties of outlawry and forfeiture.³ This measure when enrolled as an Act of Parliament became known as the First Statute of *Praemunire*, a title that might more correctly have been applied to the Statute of Provisors of 1351. Both measures of course were entirely directed against the Papacy.

The Cross-bearing.

New days were at hand, and old things were passing away. The year that saw the First Statute of *Praemunire* enacted also witnessed the end of the terrible question of the cross-bearing, that for ages had practically kept the Northern Primate out of the sphere of politics. The happy settlement of the question was in great part due to the good sense and moderation of the two Archbishops, Simon of Islip and

¹ So at York as early as 1327; Jenckes, sup. 14, 15. See also Bp. Stubbs, II. 431.

² Rot. Parlt. II. 252.

³ 27 Edw. III, st. 1, c. 14.

John of Thoresby,¹ both of whom were men of the world and men of business. But it was also largely due to the fact that churchmen were beginning to realize that in face of the growing alienation of the laity it was time to close their ranks in self-defence. The arrangement took the form of an arbitration, the King being the arbiter.² On the 20th April 1353 the two Primates met in the Palace at Westminster; Islip agreed that the Archbishop of York should be at liberty to carry his cross erect within the Province of Canterbury; and Thoresby agreed to bind his successors within the space of two months after their consecration to present at the Shrine of St. Thomas a gold image or jewel of the worth of £40. In Councils and Parliaments the Archbishop of Canterbury would sit on the King's right hand, the Archbishop of York on his left, both with crosses erect. In procession they would walk abreast; if the narrowness of the way made that impossible precedence would be given to Canterbury.³

The year closed with the death of one Pope, and the installation of a successor. Clement VI died on the 6th December. On the 30th of the month Etienne Aubert, a Limousin and distinguished canon lawyer, was crowned at Avignon under the style of Innocent VI. A quiet conscientious man, he did his best to purify the Papal Court, and reform the abuses prevalent under his predecessors.⁴ Of the Avignon Popes he was probably the best. A new Pope.

On the 28th April 1354 a full, formal Parliament met at Westminster.⁵ The Ordinances of the Staple were laid before the Houses, and duly confirmed and enacted, with some emendations.⁶ A fair amount of general business was also Parliament.

¹ John of Thoresby (Thursby in Wensleydale), an Oxford man, being Keeper of the Privy Seal, was consecrated Bishop of St. Davids in September 1347; in June 1349 he succeeded Offord as Chancellor; in the following November he was translated to Worcester; and again to York on the 22nd October, 1352. In the Northern Province Thoresby came after William de la Zouche, who had been consecrated 7 July 1342 in succession to Melton, who died in 1340; Foss, Judges, III. 523; Reg. Sacr.

² "Mediante Rege."

³ Angl. Sacr. I. 75. The compact was confirmed by the new Pope Innocent VI.

⁴ H. Nicolas; Milman, V. 498, 547.

⁵ The session lasted till the 20th May; Lords' Report.

⁶ Rot. Parl. II. 254-257; 28 Edw. III, cc. 12-15; Statutes, I. 347, &c.

CHAP. XXII. transacted. The Crown was forbidden to reappoint sheriffs after the expiration of their year of office—an effectual blow to the influence of these functionaries—and the King agreed that goods taken by way of purveyance under 20s. in value should be paid for in ready money. The exportation of iron was forbidden, the price having risen from 3*d.* to 12*d.* the stone since the Plague. The Commons would have liked some further measures against the labourers, who refused to take wages in corn; who refused to engage by the half year or the quarter; and who took to renting small farms as an excuse for not taking service by the half year. The King, however, thought that the existing legislation might suffice for a while.¹

1354

Commons
all for
Peace.

Of the general feeling with respect to the war this Parliament gave "unmistakable evidence". After the petitions had been read and answered, Bartholomew Burghersh, the Lord Chamberlain, explained the state of the negotiations with France, stating that there were good hopes of a final peace, but that the King would settle nothing without the assent of Lords and Commons. The Commons answered that whatever might be pleasing to the King and the Great Men would be acceptable to them. Pressing for a more explicit answer the Chamberlain said:

"Donques vous voillez assentir au Tretee de pees perpetuele si homme la puisse avoir?"

*Et les dites communes responderent entierement et unie-ment, 'Oil, Oil'."*²

The state of the peace negotiations was as follows. On the 6th April (1354) a truce for another year had been arranged. In giving his instructions to the plenipotentiaries Edward had authorized them to treat for a final peace on the basis of his renouncing his pretensions to the Crown of France.³ The concessions expected in return were to include, it would seem, the absolute cession of Guienne, Ponthieu, and Normandy, with all recent conquests in Brittany or France, the whole in absolute dominion.

Negotia-
tions.

¹ See 28 Edw. III; Statutes, I. 345-349; Rot. Parl. II. 254-262.

² Rot. Parl. 262.

³ Foed. III. 275-277.

Edward hinted that he might not insist upon Normandy, but he asked for the overlordship of Flanders—terms that no King of France could have listened to for one moment.¹ But the English did not at all realize that fact, and the national expectations had been wound up to the highest pitch.² The new Pope Innocent VI had shown himself quite as zealous in the cause of peace as his predecessors.³ Accordingly it was agreed that the terms of the treaty should be finally settled at Avignon, with the Pope as arbiter, but 'extra-judicially,' and 'in a private capacity only.' The 1st October was the day fixed for the meeting of the conference; the Bishops of Norwich⁴ and London⁵ and the Duke of Lancaster were the English plenipotentiaries, while the Peers spiritual and lay appointed special delegates to bind their private interests, so far as they might be specially affected.⁶ To make the pacification complete a treaty was sealed for the liberation of David of Scotland, in consideration of a money ransom of 90,000 marks, to be paid by nine annual instalments.⁷

The hopes of all were doomed to be equally disappointed. When the English embassy reached Avignon on Christmas Eve they found that the Duke of Bourbon, the French plenipotentiary, was not prepared to surrender the homage due for any particle of French soil; the French refused to dismember France, and the conference broke up in January 1355 an utter failure.⁸ As a necessary consequence the Scottish treaty broke down also, and the unfortunate David remained in his bonds.

Their Failure.

¹ See the statement of Burghersh to the Grand Council or anomalous Parliament of 1353; Rot. Parl. II. 251; Avesbury, 421; Baker, 123; Knighton, 2607.

² Avesbury; Murimuth, Cont. 183 (Hog); Foed. III. 303.

³ See Foed. 254-269.

⁴ William Bateman, consecrated 23 May 1344; Reg. Sacr.

⁵ Michael Northburgh, Bishop Elect; he was not consecrated till the 12th July 1355; Reg. Sacr.

⁶ 28th August; Foed. 283-285. On the 30th October the King signed a special authority to settle boundaries.

⁷ Foed. 281, 285-293; Rot. Scot. I. 766-773.

⁸ Knighton, 2607, 2608; Avesbury and Murimuth, Cont., sup.; Baker, 124.

CHAPTER XXIII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1355, 1356

Charles of Navarre and the Kings of France and England.—Resumption of the War.—Prince of Wales in Gascony.—Ten days' campaign in Picardy.—Parliament.—Scottish affairs.—Berwick lost and recovered again.—Devastation of the Lothians.

CHAP. XXIII

1355
Prospect
of War.

WITH the breakdown of the negotiations at Avignon an early renewal of the war became once more a certainty ; and again Edward had a useful ally holding out his hand to him from his adversary's camp. Since the marriage of Philip the Fair of France with Jeanne of Champagne, Queen of Navarre, the two crowns had been closely linked. At Jeanne's death (1305) her son Louis X (*Hutin*) succeeded to Navarre. At his death his daughter Jeanne II ought undoubtedly to have succeeded to Navarre ; but his brother Philip V (*Le Long*) laid hands on both crowns ; so did Charles IV (*Le Bel*) : at his death, however, tardy justice was done to Jeanne II, who was allowed to ascend the throne of Navarre, in conjunction with her husband, Philip, Count of Evreux, son of Louis of Evreux, the youngest brother of Philip the Fair. To the counties of Champagne and Brie, Jeanne's family lands, she was not allowed to succeed, possessions in Angoulême and La Marche being allotted to her instead.¹ In 1349 Jeanne II died, her husband having passed away before her, whereupon their son Charles, aged 17, became King of Navarre. The Salique Law apart, he was heir to the Crown of France, a fact that could never be absent from his thoughts ; and, if only he had been born in or before January 1328 he would have

Charles
the Bad.

¹ See Sismondi, IX. 289, 299, 339, 350, and X. 8, 13, 403 ; Kitchin, I. 424 ; and Genealogical Table above, p. 212.

completely cut the ground from under Edward's feet, as being the nearest male heir to the last King.¹ Lord of himself, Charles made a bad start, and in the year of his accession gained the unenviable name of Charles the Bad through the cruelty that he exhibited in suppressing a supposed conspiracy at Pampeluna.² He is described as a little man, quick-witted, intelligent and well read, gifted with ready speech, and plausible winning manners; but utterly false, selfish, and unprincipled. King of Navarre, a Peer of France, Count of Mortain and Evreux, lord of Longueville, Mantes, Nogent-le-Roi and other lands in Normandy and the valley of the Seine, he was altogether a personage enjoying considerable opportunities for giving trouble. As early as the 1st August 1353 we find him sealing a treaty with Edward for the recovery of Champagne and Brie.³ King John felt the importance of securing his kinsman; he declared him of age, put him into possession of all his estates, invited him to Paris, and gave him his daughter eight years old in marriage. But there John's kindness began and ended. He withheld the dowry promised with his daughter, and also divers lands claimed by Charles. Angoulême, formerly held by Charles's mother, the King conferred on his prime favourite, the other Charles, the Constable, Charles de la Cerda. A deadly quarrel between the two ensued; and the whole court was filled with their contentions.⁴ The King of Navarre made short work of his rival. On the night of the 8th January 1354 he came down upon Laigle in Normandy, where the Constable happened to be quartered, and had him brutally murdered in his bed. John's rage knew no bounds; but Charles was too much for him. He boasted of the deed, and threw himself into the arms of the King of England.⁵ John bowed to necessity. On the 28th February a treaty was

¹ Lavissee, IV. 93.

² Sismondi, X. 402.

³ Foed. III. 228.

⁴ Le Bel, II. 169; Froissart, I. 301.

⁵ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 7; De Nangis, Cont. III. 113; and Charles's letter to Edward of the 18th January; MS. Caligula, D. III, printed by Mr. James, "Black Prince," Appendix; "Je l'ai avouée plainement" (i.e. the murder) "je l'ai fait faire."

CHAP. XXIII signed ; on the 4th March father-in-law and son-in-law were formally reconciled.¹ But the reconciliation was utterly hollow. John was bent on revenge, and Charles found it necessary to escape to Avignon. He was there during the autumn of the year, and had ample opportunities of conferring with the Duke of Lancaster, making offers of ready help if the war should be renewed.² When the negotiations for the peace broke down Charles retired to Navarre, and sent a confidential agent to the King of England to concert a landing at Cherbourg. Meanwhile John had seized some of Charles's castles in Normandy, and actual war had broken out between their partisans.³

1354

A new ally.

War declared.

In England the call to arms was sounded in February (1355), when mass levies were ordered on both sides of the Border to resist an expected movement on the part of the Scots. In April war with France was resolved upon, and a last embassy from Avignon dismissed with the assurance that the King would grant no more truces. The coast-guard was called out in Kent, and shipping bespoke for the month of June, to convey the Prince of Wales to Gascony as King's Lieutenant there.⁴ He went down to Plymouth in due course, and eventually sailed on the 8th or 9th of September.⁵ The Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Oxford and Salisbury, with the lords John de Lisle of Rougemont (Devon) and Reginald Cobham of Sterborough (Kent) accompanied him. By the articles settled with the King the Prince would have 433 men-at-arms, and 700 archers, of whom 400 would be mounted and 300 footmen,⁶ 1,133 men in all. The muster rolls of the barons' contingents are not forthcoming, but the shipping bespoke under the head of the Earl of Warwick considerably exceeds that bespoke for the Prince. Taking the barons' returns there-

¹ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 8 ; Sismondi, X. 413 ; Lavissee, IV. 94.

² Sismondi, 417, citing Secousse, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, I. 49 ; Froissart, I. 303, note Buchon ; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 12 ; Rot. Parl. II. 264.

³ Sismondi, 418-421 ; Grandes Chroniques, 14 ; Froissart, 302-304 ; Le Bel, II. 178.

⁴ Foed. III. 297, 298 ; Avesbury, 424.

⁵ 8 September, Avesbury ; 9 September, Baker, 127.

⁶ See the Indenture dated 10 July, 1355 ; Beltz, Garter, 389.

fore as double the Prince's retinue we should have a total of about 3,400 men, just about the estimate of Robert of Avesbury, who gives the whole force as comprising 1,000 men-at-arms, 2,000 archers, and a body of Welshmen. Knighton, the Canon of Leicester, is content with 800 men-at-arms and 1,400 archers,¹ in all 2,200 men. If the reader should hesitate to accept estimates so moderate as 3,000–4,000 men, we may tell him at once that a few years hence, in the course of this same war, we shall find an English army of less than 3,000 men marching from Calais to the gates of Paris, and from Paris to the banks of the Loire, without opposition.²

The King reserved himself for the expedition to Normandy suggested by the King of Navarre. On the 1st July a Regency Commission was appointed, under the nominal head of the King's son Thomas of Woodstock, born in January.³ The King was at Northfleet, superintending the preparations; his sons Lionel and John, Henry Duke of Lancaster, and the Earls of March⁴ and Stafford were in attendance. On the 16th July he writes concerning some ships from Bayonne, sent by the King of Navarre, that had reached Southampton.⁵ Later in the month we find him at Sandwich, and then in September at Portsmouth. The winds were said to be contrary, but the real hindrance, no doubt, was that nothing could be heard of the King of Navarre and his promised co-operation. At last the Duke of Lancaster received intelligence that matters had been arranged between Charles and his father-in-law. The French barons had forced their reluctant King to come to terms with a man who could give the English easy access through Normandy to the very gates of Paris.⁶ Possibly,

¹ c. 2608.

² See the official muster roll of Robert Knolles' army of 1370; Exchequer K. R. Accounts, "Army," Bundle 30, No. 25.

³ Foed. III. 305; Avesbury, 422.

⁴ Roger Mortimer II, grandson of Roger I, who had been reinstated in the Parliament of 1354.

⁵ Foed. sup.

⁶ Avesbury, 425, 426; Knighton, 2608, 2609; Le Bel, II. 179. Cf. Froissart, I. 304. The treaty was signed at Valognes 10th September; Sismondi, X. 423, citing Secousse; see also Grandes Chroniques, VI. 17.

CHAP. XXIII too, Charles may have been more anxious to secure terms for himself, than to bring over the English hordes to devour his substance. An independent expedition to Brittany that was to have sailed under the Duke of Lancaster was also given up; but Edward intimated that at Michaelmas he would take an army over to Calais.¹

Sailing of
the King.

About the 26th October he landed there.² His army had been swelled by Northern levies under Percy and the Bishop of Durham,³ who, rashly trusting to an armistice concluded with the Douglas, had ventured for once to leave their proper sphere of duty on the Border. A further body of mercenaries from Flanders, Brabant and Germany also joined him at Calais,⁴ making altogether a formidable army, but no trustworthy estimate can be given of their numbers.⁵ On the 2nd November the King marched out of Calais; King John was understood to be lying somewhere between Saint-Omer and Amiens; Edward accordingly took the road to Saint-Omer, laying all waste around him. The first night the English encamped between Guisnes and Ardres; the next day they swept past the walls of Saint-Omer, and so advancing by easy stages came to Blangy on the river Ternoise. There the advanced guard met a French knight, Jehan le Maingre or Maigre, surnamed Boucicault, a future Marshal of France and father of another and a more celebrated Marshal. Boucicault had been taken prisoner by the English on some former occasion, and was out on his parole.⁶ John had sent him as if to surrender to his parole; but in reality to spy out the English camp. Edward let him see all that he wished to see, and then sent him back to his master, free of ransom, with a message to the effect that the King of England would await the King of France for three days on French soil. John, however, kept close under the walls of Amiens, and even wasted the country beforehand to check the English

¹ Foed. III. 312; Avesbury, sup., and 327.

² Le Bel, II. 180.

³ Thomas of Hatfield, consecrated 10 July 1345; Reg. Sacr.

⁴ Scalacr. 303; Avesbury, 427, 428; Knighton, sup.

⁵ Knighton gives Edward the very likely force of 2,000 archers; but appends 15,000 men-at-arms (!).

⁶ "Il alait sur sa foi;" Le Bel.

advance. The result was that when the three days were out, Edward wheeled round by Hesdin towards Boulogne, and so brought a most fruitless ten days' campaign to a close. On the 11th November he returned to Calais. Next day French envoys appeared with a challenge for the 17th November. Edward declined the 17th, but offered to give battle on the 13th, or the 14th at the very latest. According to the English writers he eventually accepted the 17th; but we may take it that neither King had any serious intention of fighting. Edward had just received bad news from home. The Scots, taking advantage of the defenceless state of the Border, had recovered the town of Berwick, and were laying close siege to the castle.¹ Edward paid off his foreign auxiliaries at once, and returned home in time to open a session of Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 23rd November.²

The Issue Rolls of the preceding year show good cause for the summoning of Parliament. From Michaelmas 1354 to Michaelmas 1355 the expenditure had risen to the unequalled sum of £222,000, the receipts only amounting to £178,000.³ The proceedings of the session were opened by Walter, Lord Manny, who gave a sketch of the diplomatic and military efforts of the past year; and then asked for a subsidy for the war against the Scots. A prolongation for six years of the extra duties on leather and wool was granted; and the King moved off to the North without waiting for the close of the session. Parliament.

In the spring of the year, when a renewal of the war with England was seen to be imminent, the French had sent over to Scotland one Eugène de Garencières, an agent already known in that country.⁴ De Garencières brought with him a small body of men-at-arms; and "which was of more importance" 40,000 "*moutons d'or*"⁵. The Scottish

¹ Avesbury, 428, 431; Le Bel, II. 177-183; Froissart, I. 304-310; De Nangis, Cont. III. 113; Knighton, 2610; Murimuth, Cont. 186; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 18.

² Lords' Report; Rot. Parl. II. 264, 265.

³ Pell Rolls, Mich. and Easter, 29 Edw. III.

⁴ Exchequer Rolls Scot. I, cxlix.

⁵ French gold crowns or 'escus', also called 'moutons' from the impress of the Agnus Dei.

CHAP. XXIII

1355

Move-
ments in
Scotland.Berwick
won,

magnates took the money thankfully, and promised to make war without delay.¹ Communications were opened with the independent Irish, for a combined attack on the common foe: but the English government was not caught napping. The Irish rose and suffered a severe defeat.² The Scots advanced to the Border, but found the Northern levies ready for them. William Douglas (afterwards the 1st Earl) then signed the truce that enabled the English Marchers to follow Edward to Calais. The Scots had little reason to stir up hostilities, because it is clear that by far the greater part of the territory won by the English after the battle of Neville's Cross had been recovered.³ But, unfortunately for Scotland, the Regent, Robert Stewart, and Dunbar the Earl of March found themselves unable to accept the truce. They had taken the Frenchman's money, and he insisted upon action. As soon as they had word that Edward had crossed the Channel, they gathered a force of shipping, landed at Berwick, and carried the town by nocturnal escalade (6th November).⁴

A previous skirmish that happened in the month of October deserves notice, perhaps, because to it we seem to be indebted for the *Scalacronica*, the interesting Border chronicle composed in rather Northumbrian French by Thomas Grey of Heton. Grey came of a good old stock; he was Constable of Norham, and "sunne to Thomas Gray that had beene 3 tymes besegid by the Scottes in Norham castel yn King Edward the secunde dayes";⁵ and apparently grandson of a man who was wounded in the

¹ Fordun; *Scalacr.* 303. *Scotichr.* II. 350; Wyntoun.

² Knighton, 2609; cf. *Foed.* III. 326, 327; *Four Masters*, I. 607.

³ Knighton, *sup.*; *Scalacr.* 304. Cf. *Rot. Scot.* I. 775-777. As a matter of fact the English holds in Scotland at this time were simply Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Dumfries, and Lochmaben, with garrisons of 40 to 60 'plated' horse each. *Stevenson, Illustrations Scottish Hist.* 60.

⁴ *Avesbury*, 431. Cf. *Scalacr.* 304; Fordun; *A. Wyntoun*, II. 272; *Scotichr.* II. 351; *Rot. Scot.* I. 782. The Regent was not actually present: the assault was led by Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, but the Regent took possession of Berwick as soon as it was won.

⁵ *Scalacr.* 304. Leland's abstract, also given by Stevenson in an Appendix to the French text, 303, 304.

Wallace rising in 1297.¹ Grey was enticed into an ambuscade by the Earl of March, who sent a party across the Tweed to plunder round Norham; the Constable came to the rescue, as in duty bound; the Scots retired, and drew him on to Nesbit muir, between Kelso and Roxburgh, where their main body was posted. After a stout fight Grey was captured, and, taking to the pen until he was again free to wield the sword, sat down to write history in the quiet seclusion of Edinburgh castle.²

But the hand of the avenger came down swiftly and surely on the heads of the offending Scots. Before the end of December Edward was at Durham, calling for general levies. Manny was sent on to relieve the garrison of Berwick castle; on the 13th January 1356 the townsmen opened their gates and begged for mercy.³

The Scottish Regent at once took steps to reopen negotiations;⁴ but Edward was resolved to press his advantage. He had been endeavouring for some time to get rid of his puppet king, Balliol, who hampered all his negotiations with the Scots. But Balliol clung to his shadowy crown, and kept carefully aloof from the English court.⁵ The advance of the King's army cut short his hesitation. On the 20th January he made over his kingdom, and all his property and rights, public and private, to the King of England, in consideration of a sum of 5,000 marks and a life pension of £2,000 a year.⁶

Abdication
of Edward
Balliol.

¹ See the pedigree in Raines, North Durham, copied by Stevenson, XXXIV, and Id. XV.

² See Fordun, Wyntoun, the Scotichr., and Scalacr., sup., and Prologue to the last, p. 2.

³ Avesbury, 432, 450; Fordun; Murimuth, Cont. 186; Knighton, 2611; Foed. III. 314.

⁴ 17th January; Foed. 317. Cf. Knighton, 2611.

⁵ See Rot. Scot. I. 763, 766; Foed. 279, 280.

⁶ Signed by Balliol at Roxburgh, 20-25 January, and by Edward at Bamborough, 20 January; Foed. 317-321, also 325, a proclamation for the observance of Scottish laws and customs; Avesbury, 451; Rot. Scot. I. 787, 799. Balliol was established at Hatfield ('Haytefield,' Foed.) in Yorkshire, with personal liberty to shoot and fish, but Edward evidently owed him considerable sums for war expenditure; Foed. 341, 345. Balliol died at Doncaster in the latter half of 1363; Knighton.

CHAP. XXIII

1356

Scotland
wasted.

Edward halted some days on the Border to see if his new subjects would recognize his authority; he even granted a short truce to enable them to consider their position; but, finding that they were merely taking advantage of the truce to remove their goods, he advanced to 'take seisin' by force. Marching in three columns the English reduced to ashes every farm-house and village within twenty miles of the coast.¹ At Haddington they were detained for ten days, the fleet on which they depended for provisions being kept at North Berwick by northerly gales—a visitation sent, as the Scots believed, at the special intercession of the Virgin Mary, whose shrine at Whitekirk² had been outraged. When Haddington was evacuated the whole town was given to the flames, including the church of the Friars Minors, known for its beautiful choir as the Lantern of Lothian.³ Edinburgh was the King's turning point;⁴ after two days' stay there he took the road to the Border, probably by Galashiels and Melrose; the line of the modern railway. The Scots hung on his rear, and made cruel havoc of the sick, the wounded and the weary. The inroad was one of the severest experienced in Southern Scotland. For many a day the horrors of "*Le Burnt Candlemas*" marked an epoch in the national memory;⁵ and for it Scotland had again to thank the French alliance.

¹ 'Per viginti leucas,' Avesbury; 'per VIII leucas,' Knighton.

² "Albam-Ecclesiam apud Baroniam de Hamyr;" "Quhyt Kirk."

³ "Cujus chorus ob singularem pulchritudinem et luminis claritatem Lucerna Laudoniae vocabatur;" Scotichr.

⁴ A list of the English garrison in Scotland in the 29th year (1355) gives John Kingston as Constable of Edinburgh with 30 plated horsemen; Illustrations Scottish History, p. 60. Perhaps the garrison was left there at this time, but the first payment of wages is due 13 December.

⁵ Avesbury, 454-456; Knighton, sup.; Fordun, 374; Scotichr. II. 354; Scalacr. sup.; cf. Froissart, I. 311.

CHAPTER XXIV

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1355-1357

The Prince of Wales in Gascony.—Raiding of Languedoc.—March to the Loire.—Campaign and Battle of Poitiers.—Truce of Bordeaux.—Return to England.

WE must now go back to follow the doings of the Prince of Wales in Gascony. In January (1356) great news had been received in London. The Prince had ridden for seven weeks¹ on French soil without finding an enemy to cross swords with him. Out of eight weeks of campaigning only eleven days had been given to rest; he had led an army that may be taken as, at most, between 4,000 and 5,000 men strong² from Bordeaux to the shores of the Mediterranean, and back, with the loss of only one combatant of knightly rank; he had burned the suburbs of Carcassonne and Narbonne, and altogether done an amount of destruction unprecedented in the war. In fact the districts raided corresponded to the greater part of three Departments³ of modern France. So the Prince and his secretary John Wingfield could boast.⁴

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1355

The Prince
of Wales in
Gascony.

Raiding of
Languedoc.

But young Edward, now twenty-four years old, had under his orders a well-organized army of the best possible material, led by experienced commanders, trained in long years of warfare at home and abroad. There was abso-

¹ Including the marches on English territory the campaign lasted eight weeks and two days.

² Above, p. 387, we saw that the Prince might have brought out 3,400 men. For the Gascon contingent we must now add 1,000 men, making 4,400 men. Baker, no doubt, p. 139, gives the total as 6,000 men; so at least I venture to render his "sexagesies mille", because in the next campaign with some reinforcements he has only 7,000 men. Sixty thousand men would pass even chroniclers' estimates.

³ Gers, Haute-Garonne, and Aude.

⁴ See the reports, Avesbury, 434, 442; addressed to the Treasurer, William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester (consecrated May 1346).

CHAP. XXIV

1355

lutely no army to face him in the field, and no attempt was made to raise one. Everywhere at his coming the people fled from their homes, and took refuge in their strongholds. The story of the campaign is simply one of devastation, like that of the campaign of 1346. The reader need not be troubled with too much detail of such work. The Prince had reached Bordeaux by the 20th September,¹ eager for action. The Gascon lords urged an attack on Armagnac, and an invasion of Languedoc, virgin soil. The Count of Armagnac was the French King's Lieutenant in the South, and Toulouse had been the starting-point of many an expedition against Gascony.² No further back than the two preceding years Count Jean had led a furious raid through the Agenais, Quercy, and Rovergue, advancing defiantly to Aiguillon on the Garonne.³ All that we can say therefore for the English is that the French were no better.

On Monday 5 October the Prince marched out of Bordeaux, ascending the left bank of the Garonne; seven days' advance over friendly soil by Langon, Bazas and Castelnau, brought him on the 11th to Arouille in the Landes, near Roquefort, and at no distance from La Bastide d'Armagnac.⁴ Strict marching order was now enforced, the army being arranged in three divisions, as usual. The van was led by Warwick, the Earl Marshal, with Cobham as Constable,⁵ and comprised the contingents of the lords Beauchamp of Somerset and Roger Clifford, with that of Thomas Hampton, Seneschal of the Landes and Standard-bearer, and those of seven Gascon barons. The Prince commanded the main body with the Earl of Oxford and the Lords Burghersh, de Lisle, Willoughby d'Eresby, De la Warr, Bouchier, de Ros, Maurice Berkeley, the Captal de Buch, the Sire d'Albret, and other Gascon barons under him. Suffolk and Salisbury brought up the rear with the

¹ Roll of Expenses, printed, Beltz, Garter, 391.

² Avesbury, 434.

³ 1352-1354. See Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, 29.

⁴ See the Itinerary in Baker, by far the best, p. 128, with Sir E. M. Thompson's identifications, 293; and map, 296.

⁵ Baker inverts the functions of these two officers.

Gascon lord of Pommiers in command of the Béarnais.¹ Edward le Despenser and Basset of Drayton are also named.² At Arouille the Prince halted for a day; continuing on the 13th he marched past the Bastide d'Armagnac, not without some skirmishing, and on through hilly country to Monclar (near Cazaubon);³ on the 14th de Lisle received a wound at Estang of which he died next day. Halting outside Nogaro on the 16th October, the force on the 17th reached Plaisance on the river Arros. In the morning the town was burnt, as were all places within reach of the army on its daily march. Advancing to Bassoues and Montesquiou, the Prince on the 21st took up his quarters in the Cistercian monastery of Berdoues two miles to the South of Mirande, a place too strong to be attacked. Finding himself confronted by 'the Pyrenees of Arragon' Edward now turned eastwards, and, passing from Armagnac into Asterac, crossed successive spurs of the hills to Seissan, which was burnt—contrary to the Prince's orders—and so on to Simorre on the Gimone, and again across that river past Sauveterre and Lombez to Samatan on the Save, which place was reached on the 25th October. The town boasted of a convent of Franciscans, but that did not save it; both town and convent were given to the flames. On the 26th October the army marched through 'a fair open country' by Sainte-Foy to Saint-Lys.⁴ At the latter place the English halted on Tuesday 27th October, in the hope that the Count of Armagnac and the Constable Jacques de Bourbon might come out of Toulouse to fight. But the French kept within their walls, so on the 28th October the army boldly crossed both the Garonne and the Ariège in one day, at a point a little above their confluence. The passage of the Garonne is described as rocky, rough and dangerous, and that of the Ariège as even worse. But a season of exceptional drought made the feat possible. For twenty years, it was said, the peasants had not seen the rivers so low.⁵ Drawing

¹ Baker, 129; Chandos Herald, 45. For the Gascon names see Froissart,

I. 314.

² Id. 304.

³ Gers.

⁴ Haute-Garonne.

⁵ Baker and Avesbury, sup.; Froissart, 314.

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still nearer to Toulouse the army halted at La Croix-Falgarde, at the prudent distance of seven miles from the walls of Toulouse. It was a fixed rule with the English commanders in their wars in France never to encamp within striking distance of a fortified town. They were now in a rich populous country, that probably had seen little war since the days of the Albigensian Crusades, and the work of devastation was pressed with renewed ardour. Turning south-eastwards, within the next three days they successively occupied and destroyed Montgiscard, Baziège, Villefranche, Avignonet and Castelnaudary, thus entering the modern department of Aude. Within that time thirty-two windmills alone were destroyed. Castelnaudary was rich in ecclesiastical foundations, having a collegiate church, Franciscan and Carmelite convents, and a hospital dedicated to St. Anthony. The army rested there on the 1st November, to keep the Feast, All Saints' Day; but, at their leaving on the morrow, town and convents alike were laid in ashes. Continuing by Villepinte and Alzonne, on the 3rd November they reached the suburbs of Carcassonne, a rich populous city described as larger than London 'within the walls'. The forces were drawn out in battle array, and knights were dubbed; but no effectual resistance was offered, the whole population having retired to the upper town or citadel, an impregnable fortress, cut off by the waters of the Aude. The whole army therefore entered, and took possession of the *bourg* or lower town, comfortable and in fact luxurious quarters, with cellars well filled with muscat wine.¹ An offer of ransom to save the city was scornfully rejected by the Prince, who said that he wanted not gold, but 'justice', i.e. submission. The French refusing that, the fourth day, 6th November, was devoted to firing the lower town, which in fact was 'clean destroyed', all but the sacred buildings. Two days of painful marching through stony country, amid wind and dust, brought the army by Marseillette and Lésignan, across the river Orbieu, to the suburbs of Narbonne (8 November). These are described as even larger than the

¹ Froissart, I. 315.

bourg of Carcassonne. The *bourg* had to be stormed, while a "sniping" fire of cross-bow bolts and other missiles was kept up night and day from the citadel. A messenger came in asking for a safe-conduct for Papal envoys. Rumours of the King's landing at Calais had reached the army; the Prince therefore kept the messenger waiting two days, and then told him that he could do nothing without instructions from his father.¹

By this time, however, the enemy were reported to be gathering in force in the rear. The Prince held a council of war, and decided to move northwards across the Aude, in the hope, as he said, of bringing the enemy to an action, and so advanced eight miles to Aubian on the Etang de Cobestang, as if making for Bésiers. But the move was apparently a feint to put the enemy on a wrong scent, and cover his retreat,² as on the morrow and two following days he held westwards and northwards through difficult country to Homps and Azille (Hérault); and again across the Aude to Comigne (near Copendu);³ past Marseillette, thus leaving Carcassonne at a safe distance to the right; and so on to Saint-Hilaire and Preixan, thus for the third time crossing the Aude, and, of course, destroying everything as he went (November 11-14). The next day took the army to the neighbourhood of Fanjeaux, and the next again to that of Belpech; while on the 17th November, crossing either the Vixiège or the Hers or both, the Prince, entering the department of Ariège, rested at the convent of Boulbonne near Mazères. There the young Count of Foix, recently escaped from a French prison, greeted him warmly. Next day, descending the Hers to Calmon⁴ and Auterive, accompanied by the Count, the English crossed their old friend the Ariège to Miremont, and so to Montaut on the Garonne, which they forded to the great astonishment of the natives, who had removed all the ferry-boats. The day ended with

¹ Avesbury, 435; and the summary report by Wingfield; Id. 441.

² Vic et Vaissete, IV. 283, assert that the Prince retreated to the hills of Cabardez and Minervois to avoid being surrounded.

³ Dept. Aude again.

⁴ Haute-Garonne.

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the storm of the fortified town of Carbonne. Next day, Thursday, 19 November, the army was indulged with a day of much needed and very grateful rest.¹ On the 20th, however, they were marched out betimes in fighting trim. Reports had come in through the night that the Count of Armagnac, with the Constable de Bourbon and Marshal de Clermont, were coming down upon them from Toulouse. Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, with John Chandos and James of Audley were sent out to reconnoitre; they caught up the tail of the rear-guard, the enemy having fallen back; but the main body kept out of reach, and the Prince at night rested at Mauvesin near l'Isle-en-Dodon, with the fires of the enemy in sight, between Sauveterre and Lombez, but with the waters of the river Save and a broken bridge between the two armies. Descending the river the army had a heavy march in rain to Auradé,² near l'Isle-en-Jourdain. There it would seem that they crossed the Save, and then it became a race which army should get first to Gimont, a place of considerable strength; but thanks to their start the French scraped in with some loss, the English having to camp out in neighbouring villages (22 November). Next day the Prince had his men out in battle array by daybreak, in faint hope that the French might yet come forward to give battle. In fact they had taken advantage of the night to effect a strategic retreat. On the 24th therefore the homeward march was resumed.³ The second day brought the army to the banks of the Gers; a last hope that an enemy might be found to dispute their progress was doomed to disappointment, and the force was allowed to effect a difficult passage without molestation; leaving Fleurance to the right they rested at Réjaumont near La Sauvetat (25 November). The next day took them across the swollen waters of the Baise to La Gardère beyond Valence, between that place and Gondrin, while one more march brought them out of Armagnac to friendly soil at Mezan.⁴

¹ Baker.² Gers.³ Baker, 136, 137; the Prince's report ends here, Avesbury, 437. See also Wingfield's report, 439.⁴ Lot-et-Garonne.

There the Gascons and Béarnais were dismissed, and the standards furled. On the 2nd December the Prince rested at La Réole; by the 9th he had returned to Bordeaux.¹ The want of spirit and incapacity of the French for guerilla warfare was again made manifest. Not an attempt had been made to cut off a single waggon-load of plunder, or to rescue any one of the long train of prisoners with which the army was encumbered.²

When campaigning meant plunder and free quarters, hands to do the work would seldom be wanting. After Christmas the Prince sent out detached bands to operate in different quarters. On the 22nd January 1356 Wingfield was able to report a fresh list of five or six towns and seventeen castles taken in the basin of the Garonne and its affluents. The work of destruction extended to the cutting down of vine trees.³ The English dominion, however, kept expanding in all directions.⁴ In February the Count of Périgord found himself so pressed that he wrote to Avignon to beg for help.

The Pope, it is said, made liberal offers to the Prince; but Edward, with that cool contempt for Church authority that we have already noticed, answered that his father, thanks to God, was not in want of money, but that he was resolved to carry out his mission of chastising all rebels in Aquitaine.⁵ Within a few days Périgueux opened its gates to Jean de Greilly, the Captal de Buch. By the end of May thirty more towns and castles had surrendered.⁶

Before ever the war had recommenced in the autumn

¹ Baker, 138; and Sir E. M. Thompson's notes and map, 296. Ten to fifteen miles a day was the average march, with some shorter, a few of twenty miles and more.

² Le Bel, II. 187; Froissart, I. 321; *Grandes Chroniques*, VI. 19.

³ Avesbury, 445-447.

⁴ Id. 449. See also Moisant, *Le Prince Noir*, 44.

⁵ Avesbury, 456, 457. Early in March Innocent sent Simon of Sudbury, afterwards Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, to London with offers of mediation. Edward refused even to see him for five weeks, and eventually dismissed him on the 2nd May; Id. 458; Foed. III. 328.

⁶ Avesbury, 449. For an act of sacrilege alleged to have been committed by the Prince on Good Friday (22nd April), see *Scotichr.* II. 358, a hostile witness, no doubt.

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1356

Affairs of
France.Estates
General.The King
of Navarre.

John had found himself in a state of insolvency, and obliged to order a suspension of all treasury payments till Easter.¹ The outbreak of the war drove him to face the Estates General, the last extremity of a King of France. On the 2nd December 1355 the Estates of Langue d'Oïl met at Paris. The assembly was not wanting in spirit. It voted a subsidy deemed sufficient for the maintenance of 30,000 men-at-arms for a year; the grant was made on condition that the King should play no more tricks with the currency, and give up the right of 'prisage'—an abuse carried to far greater lengths in France than in England; a further and most necessary condition was this, namely, that the money should be raised and administered by the Estates themselves. The taxes agreed upon to raise the money were a *gabelle* on salt; and an *alcavala* of eight *sous* on the *livre* of all goods sold.² This last was a most crushing impost; inquisitorial and destructive to trade, an impossible tax in fact. Normandy and Picardy rose against it, and the King of Navarre at once placed himself at the head of the malcontents, declaring that the new taxes should not be raised on his estates.³ Thus John's energies had to be directed in the first instance against his contumacious subjects and his irrepressible son-in-law. Towards the former conciliatory measures were adopted; the impossible taxes were withdrawn, and a progressive income tax substituted; but the income tax was progressive in the wrong direction; the smaller incomes were taxed at the higher, the larger incomes at the lower rates.⁴ With his son-in-law John dealt somewhat as Charles had dealt with his enemy, Charles of Spain. The King of Navarre had accepted an invitation to dine at Rouen with John's eldest son, Charles the Dauphin, who had been created Duke of

¹ 26 September 1355; Sismondi, X. 426; citing Ordonnances de France, III. 15.

² Sismondi, 429; for the *alcavala* which 'the House of Valois had been striving to establish since 1343', see pp. 230, 445; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 19, &c.

³ See Sismondi, 447; Lavissee, IV. 98-102; Froissart, I. 322.

⁴ 1st March, 1356; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 22; Sismondi, 448.

Normandy. John made a hasty march to Rouen, entered the banqueting hall, and seized Charles of Navarre, the Count of Harcourt and some others. The minor offenders were beheaded on the spot; the King of Navarre was sent to the Louvre.¹

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Philip of Navarre, Charles's brother, and Geoffrey of Harcourt, the Count's uncle, had kept clear of the insidious banquet. They declared immediate war against King John (17 April), and sent over agents to arrange a league with Edward.²

John dismissed Aquitaine from his thoughts, and plunged into petty warfare in Normandy. Edward, still reckless in his assertions, in answer to a manifesto in which John had accused the King of Navarre of intriguing with England,³ published a declaration that the King of Navarre had never intrigued with him, had never been held by him as anything but an enemy.⁴

The Duke of Lancaster had been under orders for Brittany;⁵ he was now directed to go to Normandy, to succour the Navarrese garrisons threatened by the French. On the 18th June he landed at La Hogue, with the young Duke, John of Montfort. Philip of Navarre and Geoffrey of Harcourt were there to receive him. Robert Knolles brought a reinforcement from the garrisons of Brittany; between them they made up a force of some 900 men-at-arms and 1,400 archers. Their march was first directed to Pont-Audemer, a friendly castle, which was being besieged by the French; they relieved it on the 29th June, the enemy retiring at their approach. Évreux had already

Campaign
in Nor-
mandy.

¹ Tuesday, 5th April, being Tuesday after Mid-Lent; Avesbury, 460; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 26, where the Tuesday is given as the 6th April, wrongly; Le Bel, II. 191.

² Avesbury, 461; Le Bel, 193; Froissart, I. 325. Philip's envoys had transacted their business in London and were ready to return home on the 12th May; Foed. III. 328.

³ So Villani; Muratori, XII. 369; Pauli, III. 434.

⁴ See the document, sent to all the Courts of Europe, Foed. 329. For the real facts see the statement previously made by the King in Parliament; Rot. Parl. II. 264; November 1355.

⁵ Foed. 335.

CHAP. XXIV fallen,¹ but the Duke succeeded in saving or recovering
 1356 Conches, Breteuil and Verneuil. Having thus accomplished as much as he could expect to do with so small a force, on the 8th July Lancaster began a retrograde movement, falling back on Laigle. By so doing he just escaped being cut off by John, who, that same day, reached Chandai on the road from Verneuil to Laigle, with an overpowering force. The King sent a challenge for the morrow; the Duke made a show of accepting it, but decamped in the night, marched five and thirty miles to Argentan, and so got back to the Cotentin, the stronghold of the Harcourt interest.² After a few days' rest Lancaster passed on to Brittany, his original appointment; Philip and Harcourt went over to England to do homage to Edward, and arrange plans with him,³ while King John sat down to the siege of Breteuil. Breteuil was a strong place of the kind, but only a feudal fortalice after all; not till that petty conquest had been achieved could the indignant clamours of the South reach the ears of the King of France (August).⁴

While John was wasting his time at Breteuil the Prince of Wales was preparing for, if he had not actually started on, a fresh raiding march through the heart of France.⁵ On Thursday 4th August he crossed the Dordogne at Bergerac.⁶ The army must have been very much that of the previous autumn. The only measures in the way of reinforcement that we can trace at home are orders for providing shipping

¹ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 30.

² See the Itinerary preserved, Avesbury, 462; Grandes Chroniques, sup.; Le Bel, II. 193.

³ Avesbury, 468; Foed. III. 332-340. Negotiations for the liberation of Charles of Blois, for the prodigious ransom of 700,000 gold *écus*, at 3s. 4d. sterling the *écu*, Foed. 336.

⁴ Froissart, I. 330, 334; De Nangis, d'Achery, III. 115.

⁵ The date of the end of the siege of Breteuil does not appear. But as John went first to Paris calling for a muster at Chartres, and was at Chartres before the 29th August, it seems doubtful if the news of the Prince's crossing the Dordogne could have reached him at Breteuil.

⁶ Dept. Dordogne. For the Prince's movements see the Itinerary preserved in the Eulog. H. III. 315. Edward had left Bordeaux, 6 July; Murimuth, Cont. 187; and the Prince's own letter to the Bishop of Worcester, Reginald Brian; Archaeol. I. 233; also in Sir H. Nicolas' Chron. Lond. Append. 206.

for horses, with 60 flitches of bacon, and letters of protection for the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, 37 knights, and 84 esquires and others, 121 men in all. As to the retinues of these gentlemen, the only indication that we have is this, that whereas for shipping the Prince's horses in the autumn 2,500 hurdles (*cleiae*) and fifteen bridges were required, now only 400 hurdles, and no bridges at all, are needed for the reinforcements taken out by Warwick.¹ As we supposed the Prince to have taken out at the first some 3,400 men, he might now have received 500 or 600 recruits in addition. Such a number could hardly do more than supply the vacancies of men discharged or invalided since the beginning of the campaign, but if we do add them to the original force we shall have 4,000 Englishmen. To these the 1,000 Gascons that we have allowed before would have to be added. But in fact a large proportion of these had to be sent back for home defence;² so that a total of between 4,000 and 5,000 men is the most that we can accept. At the same time we must admit that estimates of 5,000 men, 6,000 men, and even 7,000 men³ are given by the writers. With that force—whatever its strength may have been—Edward proposed to fight his way through France, to join hands with his father, who was reported to be again preparing to invade Normandy.⁴ The events of the autumn gave the Prince confidence; but they had also taught him the need of caution. The advance therefore was covered by active skirmishers, led by Chandos and Audley; the stages were mapped out beforehand; the night quarters were fortified, and the outposts kept on the alert by frequent visits from the chief commanders.⁵

On the 26th August the Prince was at Périgueux; on the 9th at Brantôme, while on the 16th he rested at Bellac (*Haute-Vienne*). Marching by way of Saint-Benoît-du-

¹ Foed. III. 323-326.

² Baker, 140.

³ So Baker, 143; viz. 4,000 men-at-arms, 2,000 archers, and 1,000 "servientes" or light footmen.

⁴ So the Prince's own letter, above; also one to the Mayor of London, given in the original French by Nicolas in his Chron. Lond. 204; and translated, Riley, Memorials, 285.

⁵ Id.

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Sault,¹ Argenton and Châteauroux, he stayed three days at Issoudun,² his skirmishers overrunning the country up to the walls of Bourges (25–27th August). On the 28th August he crossed the Cher—the old reputed Northern limit of Aquitaine—resting at Vierzon. For three days before his arrival the vanguard had been busy ravaging the neighbourhood, while on the day of his coming Chandos and Audley had sacked Aubigny, five-and-twenty miles as the crow flies from headquarters. By this time the Prince had wasted most of Berry, the line of devastation having previously traversed Périgord, Angoumois, Limousin, and La Marche. Sometimes, but not always, the churches were spared, but nothing else was spared at all.³

On the 29th August the English scouts encountered an old friend, Boucicault, who, in company with the Sire de Craon, had pushed a reconnaissance from the French headquarters at Chartres. Boucicault was again unfortunate; he lost several men, and had to flee for refuge to Romorantin (*Loir-et-Cher*). The Prince followed him up, and, after a brisk siege of five days' duration, again made him his prisoner.⁴ One day was allowed for rest, and then the army continued its march, crossing the Cher, and descending it to its junction with the Loire. There for four nights the Prince halted, directly opposite the city of Tours, while his men ran cruel riot in the garden of Touraine (September 7th–10th).⁵

With all the bridges on the Loire carefully broken down, or held in force, the situation was becoming critical. Edward's hope was that his father might be bringing an army from Normandy to co-operate on the Loire; at all events he trusted to hear something of Lancaster, who was in Brittany at the time; finally he cherished the secret hope that the good fortune that had brought his father across the Somme, and himself across the Ariège and the Garonne,

¹ Indre.² Cher.³ See Denifle, *Désolation del'Église pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans*.⁴ Eulogium, III. 215–220; Baker, 140, 141; Avesbury, 471; Scalacr. 172. Cf. Le Bel, II. 196; Riley, 286.⁵ Id. and *Grandes Chroniques*, VI. 31.

might appear once more to point out some unsuspected crossing-place on the Loire. But the weather had been rainy and the river was in high flood.¹ Finding that the river was impassable, and that support from the North was not to be expected, the Prince on Sunday 11 September began his return march towards Gascony. The French columns at last had begun to move, and were pouring down upon him in earnest. King John was at Blois, and his men were preparing to cross the Loire, some at Blois, some at Orléans, some at Tours, and some at Saumur.² The Prince advanced to the Indre; crossed it, and then halted at Montbazou.³ The next day, Monday 12th, he was detained giving audience to the Cardinal Tallyrand-Périgord, who brought an embassy of bishops to plead the cause of humanity and mercy.⁴ The Prince's answer again was that he had no authority to treat of peace, and that, in his opinion, his circumstances did not warrant his agreeing to a truce.⁵

Meanwhile John advanced from Blois to Amboise; and the belief among the English at Montbazou was that they would be attacked on the Wednesday. The Cardinal having had his answer, the army on the 13th September again took up their carriages, and made a forced march of 30 miles through Sainte-Maure to La Haye on the Creuse; John again advancing along a parallel line from Amboise to Loches. The word now was that he meant to outmarch the English, and get between them and Bordeaux;⁶ and sure enough, as it turned out, so he did. On Wednesday 14th September the Prince marched to Châtellerault on the Vienne, and remained there all Thursday and Friday, as if not quite knowing what to do. Froissart asserts that the

¹ Baker, 141, 142; the Prince's letter, Riley, Memorials, 286; and Scalacr. 173. Lobineau, Hist. Bret. I. 351, asserts that Lancaster did attempt to cross the Loire at Pont-de-Cé, a place that I cannot find.

² Froissart, I. 338.

³ Indre et Loire.

⁴ "Venerunt ad principem praedicando de pietate et misericordia"; Eulogium.

⁵ See the letter, Riley, 286.

⁶ Eulogium, III. 221; Froissart, sup. Buchon (note) asserts that John was certainly at Loches on 13 September.

country along the line of his expected advance had been effectually 'exiled', and that he failed to obtain proper information as to the movements of the enemy.¹ Whatever the reason of their inaction, the result was that on the Thursday evening John reached Chauvigny on the Vienne, some twenty miles to the South of the English position at Châtellerault; not however on the direct line of their march to Bordeaux, which would pass through Poitiers, but some sixteen miles to the East of that city. On Friday the 16th John and the bulk of his army crossed the Vienne, and began to move slowly westwards towards Poitiers, to be ready for the coming of the Prince. The news that John had reached Chauvigny was brought that same evening (Friday) to Châtellerault, thus at last informing the English of the position of the enemy. The Prince at once sent his baggage-train across the Vienne,² to leave the bridge clear for the march of the troops on the morrow. Early in the morning he made his start—taking the road to Poitiers; but, after a while, he changed his direction, turning eastwards, crossed the river Clain, perhaps at Dissay, where a ford is marked on the maps, and struck across the fields towards Chauvigny, hoping to arrest King John before he could cross the Vienne.³ Towards evening the head of the English van came suddenly upon a body of soldiers on the outskirts of a wood, on the road from Chauvigny to Poitiers.⁴ They proved to be the tail of the French rear-guard, on their march to Poitiers, across the English front. The skirmish that ensued went altogether in favour of the English. Two Counts and the Steward of the King's Household fell into their hands. But the Prince was not disposed to bring on a general action at the end of a long day's march; he called in his men, and encamped for the night in the wood. The site was not very favourable, being deficient in water,

¹ Froissart, I. 339. Cf. the letter in Riley, 287.

² Both Châtellerault and Chauvigny stand on the right or east bank of the Vienne.

³ "Ultra campos ad inimicos suos festinando; nec habendo respectum ad cariagium suum", Eulogium; "à travers du pays", Scalacr.

⁴ "In via ducente de Chaveny versus Poyters"; Avesbury, 255 (ed. Hearne).

and the army suffered in consequence.¹ Both parties were now fully enlightened as to the position of their adversaries, and took their measures accordingly. John ordered an immediate change of front, and the movement was executed in the course of the night.² The Prince, next morning (Sunday 18th September), made a corresponding movement, advancing to La Chabotrie, about three miles from Poitiers,³ and setting his army in array to face the French. As the French were encamped outside Poitiers the two armies must have confronted each other within easy striking distance,⁴ perhaps not a mile apart.

While the Prince was considering the situation and preparing his men for immediate action, the Cardinal Talleyrand again made his appearance,⁵ accompanied by another Cardinal, Niccolà Capoccio, Bishop of Urgel. The two 'earnestly begged for a little respite, that so attempt might be made to bring about an understanding, and good peace'. The Prince took counsel with his followers, and then sent forward envoys to discuss the terms of peace or a truce.⁶ He was willing to restore all the 'conquests' of the campaign, and all his prisoners; he was also prepared to pledge himself not to serve against France for seven years. But John wanted a general surrender at discretion; at all events he insisted that the Prince and one hundred chosen knights should place themselves in his hands.⁷

Clearly the situation of the English must have been

¹ Eulogium, III. 221, 222; Baker, 142; Scalacr. 173; Froissart, I. 338, 340; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 31; and the Prince's letter, sup.

² Froissart, sup.

³ "Chabotrie," so Lord Burghersh's letter printed by Mr. Coxe in his edition of Chandos Herald. The castle stands there still, on the road from Poitiers to Chauvigny.

⁴ Le Bel, II. 198, states that the French were quartered "à lieue et demy de Poitiers". Chandos Herald, 58, 60 (Roxburghe Club) places the French headquarters at "Brimos". I cannot identify the place.

⁵ Eulogium, 222; Baker, 142-144.

⁶ Riley, sup.; Scalacr. 174; Sismondi, X. 463; Pauli, II. 437, citing Vita Innocent. VI, Baluze, Vitae Pontif. Avign. I. 329, 770, 898; Froissart, 338.

⁷ Le Bel, sup.; and especially Froissart, 343; he states that he had his information from some of the Cardinal's people who were present. Cf. Villani, 411. The Prince himself does not give the actual terms demanded of him.

thought desperate. The Prince, however, did not take that view of the case, and refused to accede to demands so outrageous. 'And in such manner was that day delayed, and the battalions on one side and the other remained all night each in his own place.'¹

At sunrise on the morning of Monday 19 September the untiring Cardinals were again astir. For the English, time was of the utmost importance; their provisions were running short; reinforcements for the enemy were coming up every hour;² but the odds against them were so formidable that the Prince, it would seem, did not feel himself justified in rejecting any chance of an honourable escape; again he expressed a willingness to treat.

But the French were not all of one mind as to the reception to be given to this overture. The Marshal Arnoul d'Audrehem was for shunning action; Marshal de Clermont and Geoffrey de Chagny were all for fighting. William, afterwards first Earl of Douglas, being bound on a pilgrimage, had attached himself to the court of King John, and had acquired considerable influence with him.³ As to which way the Douglas's advice would point there could be little doubt. The mortified Cardinals sent back word to the Prince 'to do his best as fight he must'.⁴

The English leaders now held a hasty council of war. 'Lack of victual' made it imperative for them to bring matters to a speedy issue. But with the fuller information that they now possessed of the enemy's strength they were not quite so eager to fight as before. Accordingly, they resolved to execute what the Prince euphemistically describes as a 'flank' movement. They would steal away in a southerly direction, through country broken and wooded even at the present day, where their movements would be

Riley, sup.

² Riley, 288. For the French reinforcements see Eulogium, III. 223.

³ Douglas had joined the French at the siege of Breteuil; Froissart. He had passed through England under safe-conduct; Rot. Scot. I. 793.

⁴ Baker, 144; Scalacr. 174. Cf. the long rambling story of Froissart, I. 340-345, where these negotiations are given as carried on on the actual field of battle (!). The Prince is silent as to this offer to treat.

much concealed. If the French were not very prompt to follow they might get away unmolested. 'About half prime' (half-past seven o'clock) the army was set in motion.¹ The Earls of Warwick and Oxford commanded the van; Salisbury and Suffolk the rear, while the Prince had charge of the centre.² After a march of three or four miles from La Chabotrie, by cross-country roads that we cannot presume to identify, it would seem that the army struck the road leading from Poitiers to Nouaillé, by which they must have hoped to get away to Villedieu, and so to Vivonne, on the great high road to Angoulême and Bordeaux. The road to Nouaillé would bring them in due course to a farm-house on the roadside, then known as Maupertuis,³ but now as La Cardinerie; and by the time that they had reached the place it had become apparent that the French were in pursuit. What was to be done? A running retrograde action, with the superior numbers of the enemy, would involve risks not to be faced; to say nothing of the offence to English pride and traditions. But, as it happened, the enclosures of La Cardinerie confronting the Prince offered a site, on which, as he mildly put it, a pitched battle might be offered 'without great disadvantage'.⁴ Approaching the place, as he would do, from a slight elevation, Edward would see before him across a swampy hollow on the opposite hill-side a big field, partly in grass, partly planted as a vineyard, and surrounded with a quickset hedge with bank and ditch.⁵ Alongside this fence ran a road, with a gateway (lipzet) through the hedge, to give

¹ Riley, *sup.*, and Baker, 146, 147, the account of another eye-witness, who describes the movement very clearly. See also Scalacr. 174; Chandos Herald, 84, 86; and Fordun, 376.

² Baker, 143; Chandos Herald, 82; Froissart.

³ Froissart, I. 353. But he places the battle between Maupertuis and Beauvoir, say between La Cardinerie and the railway, and Mr. Oman follows him. Unfortunately there is no road there, and the battle was certainly fought on a road; see Froissart, 342, and below.

⁴ Riley, *sup.*, and Chron. Lond. 206.

⁵ "Mons quidam sepibus et fossis ad extra redimitus . . . ad intra ex una parte pascuus . . . ex alia vero vineis consitus"; Baker, 146. "Nemus densum per undique fossatum et super foveam una haia alta et spineta"; Eulog. III. 224. Every writer notices the hedge.

access to the close, the opening being at the upper or farther end of the field from the farm-house. It is not clear whether the road was fenced on both sides or not.¹ Down the hollow across which the Prince was surveying the ground ran a little stream.²

It seems impossible not to identify the road so described with the existing cross-road from La Cardinerie to Bernon and Les Bordes.³ From the ford of the little stream and the low ground by the farm-house it runs obliquely upwards across the slope of the hill. At the present day the hedges and ditches are not much to look at; nor is the ascent from the low ground steep or formidable; while the little stream has disappeared, doubtless under the action of modern cultivation. But a hedge and ditch even such as they are now would form a very useful breastwork, while the ascent from the low ground to attack it would seriously tax the breath of men in plated armour. To cross spears with the English ensconced in the vineyard behind hedge and bank, the French coming from Poitiers would have to leave the high road at some distance from La Cardinerie, deploy to the right through open fields, plunge down into the little valley, and then march manfully uphill to the assault. Taking in the opportunity of the site at a glance, the Prince turned to bay, called a halt, dismounted his men—all but a detachment left to encounter the French skirmishers—and set the rest in array within the vineyard and behind the sheltering hedge.⁴ Warwick held the low ground on the right; the Prince held the centre, and

¹ "Ont pris le long d'un chemin fortifié malement de haies et de buissons . . . En cette haie n'a que une seule entrée"; Froissart, I. 342, the report of the English position put in the mouth of Eustace of Ribeaumont. "Fuit ibi una porta quae vocatur in lingua Anglicana lipzet"; Eulog. sup. "In superiori parte sepis, a declivo bene remota, fuit temesis quedam patula"; Baker, sup.

² "Inter nostros et montem erant ampla profundaue vallis et mariscus torrente quodam irriguus"; Id.

³ See Map. It is clear that the action was fought in the fields of La Cardinerie, along a hedge, bordering on a road. The only other road answering to these conditions is the road from La Cardinerie to Nouaillé, but that would not offer nearly as favourable a situation to the English, as their flank would be exposed to the French direct attack. Anyhow the choice of sites lies between these two roads.

⁴ Cf. Froissart, 344.

Salisbury the left. The latter had the advantage of occupying the highest ground, but on the other hand he had to face the gap, said to be wide enough to admit four or five men abreast. The reader referring to our plan will see that the English position did not face the French advance by the road from Poitiers at all squarely, but at a very open angle. For the protection of the extreme right, the exposed flank, the horses and baggage were parked round the farm buildings,¹ while the extreme left would rest on the houses at Bernon. An invaluable account of a mediaeval battle handed down by a writer capable of giving a really graphic picture tells us that in an engagement on a fair field between dismounted men-at-arms the spears on either side would be laid evenly against the breast-plates of the opposing enemy, and that in the push-of-war—so to speak—that ensued, it was a matter of distinct advantage for one side to have all its spears laid on the top of the spears of the other side, who would thus have a double weight of spears to hold up.² Of course the slightest advantage in the ground would tell still more. With these facts before us we can more fully appreciate the advantages enjoyed by the English men-at-arms standing or kneeling behind a bank, with their lances perhaps laid on it, the spear-heads peeping through the thorn-bushes, and presenting veritable *chevaux de frise*. That the men-at-arms were aligned along the hedge is implied in the fact that in the case of those facing the gap they were posted a stone's throw to the rear.³ As for the archers they of course lined the bank. Froissart in one edition represents them as posted in front of the men-at-arms, along the hedge and *en herse*,⁴ a statement hard to accept. The protection

¹ Froissart, I. 345; Eulog. sup.

² See the account of the battle of Langside (13 May 1568) given by Sir James Melville, the well-known soldier and statesman of the time of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI; *Memoirs*, 201 (Bannatyne Club, 1827). He tells us that the spears lay so close that big sticks, bottles, and other missiles that had fallen short, could be seen lying on them as on a platform. Though Langside was fought 200 years after Poitiers the conditions as regarding men-at-arms would not be very different.

³ Baker, 147; Eulog. III. 224.

⁴ I. 342 ed. Buchon. The writer must have been thinking of the battle of Crécy.

CHAP. XXIV of the hedge would be thrown away if the men were drawn
 1356 up in front of it, whether in wedge formation or otherwise ; while to give them the post of honour, in front of the chivalry, would be quite inconsistent with mediaeval etiquette. We may take it that they lined the hedge, but presumably on the flanks, in the intervals between the corps of men-at-arms ; and to this disposition of the force Froissart comes round in a later issue of his work, still however adhering to the *herse* formation, now spoken of as consisting of men two ranks deep.¹ If the road was fenced on both sides the French would have a preliminary obstacle to scramble over before reaching the defended hedge.

In point of numbers the English, of course, were very weak. The only fact that seems beyond dispute is that the disparity in strength between the two armies was immense, and that the French were at least four if not five times as numerous as their opponents. At the beginning of the campaign, struggling with uncertain data, we thought that perhaps the Prince might have mustered 4,000 men or 5,000 men. Grey in his *Scalacronica* declares that on the day of the battle he had but 1,900 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers, 3,400 men all told.² This may be taken as the view of military men in England at the time.

At the French head-quarters the Prince's 'flank' movement was naturally regarded as a retreat, if not a flight, and the leading division was at once hurried to the front. John had under him one of the finest armies that France had ever sent into the field : Princes of the Blood, dukes

¹ "Avoient pris le lonch d'une haye et mis les archiers d'un lés et de l'autre. Et n'avoiet en toute celle haye q'une seulle entrée." The men-at-arms were posted "au fons de ce chemin", 'at the back of' or 'behind the road', the road and hedge being treated as convertible terms ; Amiens MS., Luce V. 252 ; cited Maunde Thompson, note to Baker. Froissart, having no real picture of the situation in his eye, thought that as the battle was fought on a road the English had to be attacked along the road, and not across it, as the fact was.

² p. 175. I may again point out that the only sure datum that we have is the fact that the Prince's own contingent at the first only numbered 1,133 men. Froissart gives the English 2,000 men-at-arms and 4,000 archers (341) ; Baker, 143, inverts the numbers. Both add 1,000 or 1,500 "brigans", "bedels", "servientes", irregulars on foot, of little account.

and counts, banners and pennons without number were gathered round the Oriflamme. Nor were auxiliaries wanting; Savoyards were there, and the German Counts of Nassau and Saarbrück; while Douglas was accompanied by his cousin Archibald, natural son of the Black Douglas, Patrick Dunbar, William Ramsay of Colluthy, and others.¹ The army was marshalled in four divisions, namely three main bodies and a covering vanguard, as at Crécy, the latter corps being led by the Constable Gautier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, and ex-Podestà of Florence, assisted by the Marshals de Clermont and d'Audrehem, Bourbon having resigned in disgust. The German and Scottish allies were attached to this force.² Of the three main battalions the first was led by the King's eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, with his brothers Louis and John; the second by the King's brother the Duke of Orleans; and the third by the King himself.³ The Oriflamme was borne by Geoffrey de Chargny, while for the King's protection nineteen knights had been directed to don the same armour and accoutrements as their lord.⁴ By Douglas's advice the King dismounted all his troops, except the covering van, to fight on foot, as the English did. To enable them to act better under these novel conditions they were ordered to cut down their cavalry lances to lengths of five feet, and to divest themselves of their spurs.⁵ With their vast superiority in numbers the French might easily have made the escape of the English impossible. A timely extension of their wings would have enveloped the invaders as in a net.⁶ But, as at Crécy, so now, they were too self-confident to take the precautions necessary to ensure success.⁷

The dispositions of the English were hardly completed when the action began. The French Marshals, in a spirit of contentious rivalry, engendered by their differences in the council chambers, chose to act independently of one

¹ Fordun, 376; Scotichr. II. 357, 358.

² Froissart, I. 346.

³ Chandos Herald, 72-76; Scalacr. 174.

⁴ Froissart, 342.

⁵ Froissart, sup.

⁶ Baker, 143; Eulog. III. 225; Scalacr. 174; Froissart, 342.

⁷ Le Bel, II. 200; Villani, sup., 413, 414.

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another. D'Audrehem was content to attack Warwick, the nearest enemy ; while Clermont, more ambitious, swept round the slopes of the hill hoping to outflank the English by gaining the gap, but only to find Salisbury there ready for him. The Earl of Oxford, leaving his position with the Prince, took a party of archers to support Warwick, by a flanking movement round the right, through marshy ground, where cavalry could not act. He specially directed the men to aim at the horses rather than their riders.¹ After a smart action the French cavalry were defeated and driven off, de Clermont being killed, and d'Audrehem taken prisoner.² The Prince apparently had thought it incumbent on him to take part in this encounter, as we hear that he leaped his charger over the hedge and ditch.³ All three divisions of the English had taken part, more or less, in this preliminary encounter. The men were now re-formed and kept in hand to await further events.⁴

But the real battle had not yet begun. A more serious struggle was ushered in by the advance of the first of the three French battalions of dismounted men-at-arms, a mighty phalanx, described as ' broad and deep ' but probably not more broad than deep.⁵ Advancing up the hill they closed with the Prince's division in the centre.⁶ A desperate hand-to-hand encounter ensued for the command of the hedge,⁷ but the English held their ground, the archers meanwhile playing on the serried ranks of the phalanx. Unable to carry the breastwork—for such it was—the Duke fell back and retired ; the Prince's men, too glad to obtain a moment's breathing space, to recruit their strength and attend to the wounded, again refrained from all pursuit.⁸

But now the Duke of Orleans had brought his division into action ; inclining to the right, in the rear of the leading division, he singled out the Earl of Salisbury for attack.

¹ Baker, 148.

² Id. 147, 148 ; Froissart, I. 346, 347 ; Le Bel, II. 199 ; Chandos Herald, 86-90.

³ Eulog. III. 224.

⁴ Baker, 149.

⁵ " A pied " ; Froissart, 345 ; " grand et espaisse " ; Id. 345, 347.

⁶ Scalacr. 174.

⁷ " A pas d'une hayette " ; Chandos Herald, 94.

⁸ Baker, 149, 150.

No details of this part of the battle have been handed down, insomuch that some have supposed that Orleans never came forward at all;¹ but it seems more correct to say that he did come forward, and was defeated, because we are told that in 'retiring' he caused some confusion by coming into contact with the King's big battalion in its advance.²

But the worst of the struggle was yet to come. The King's huge battalion, a perfect army in itself, had not yet appeared. When it hove in sight, on the crest of the opposite down, making for the English centre, many a stout heart began to quail. The day had opened with a march and pitching of camp; every man had been engaged, except a reserve of 400 men with the Prince's standard; many were wounded; even some of the leaders thought that all was lost, while the men showed a disposition to slink away to the right and left, to join the divisions not immediately threatened.³ The Captal de Buch had obtained leave to take 60 men-at-arms and 100 archers on a flanking expedition; his retirement being misinterpreted, added to the dismay. The Prince rose splendidly to the occasion. Cursing the faint-hearted, and telling them to put their trust in God, he resolved to abandon his defensive position, assume the offensive, and boldly grapple with the unwieldy phalanx while they were still struggling with the swamp. He saw that the French were bringing up their last reserves, and that if these could be disposed of there would be nothing more to be feared.⁴ The Prince judged rightly, but to propose to attack a solid phalanx with a thin line of hand-to-hand fighters implied a wonderful confidence in the *moral* of his men. Ordering his banner to the front, he led the way with his little bodyguard, his only

¹ So Froissart, I. 349, and the Lavisser writer, IV. 106.

² Scalacr. 174.

³ Scalacr. sup.

⁴ So Mr. Oman pertinently remarks; Art of War, 631. His account of the battle, however, I cannot otherwise follow; he brings the Prince to Maupertuis on the 18th September, takes him safely across the stream of the Miausson, beyond Les Bordes, on the way to Bordeaux, on the 19th, and then brings him back to fight a gratuitous action at Maupertuis. He seems ignorant of the Prince's letters and of the Itinerary in the Eulogium. Mr. Tout follows him.

CHAP. XXIV reserve. The waverers, carried away by the heroism of their
 1356 chief, hastened to the rescue; bugle and trumpet, bagpipe and kettledrum called in the weary stragglers, while the archers replenished their quivers with shafts that had already done duty that day.¹ With ringing cheers the English fell on from all sides. The struggle was long and desperate; every shout of "St. George! Guienne!" was answered by a "Montjoie! Saint Denys!"² The archers falling in with the men-at-arms hacked and hewed with their knives and mallets as best they could. Even stones were used in default of other missiles. 'Of old, at the third or fourth draught of a bow, or at the most at the sixth, men might tell which side would win. But on that day an archer had drawn an hundred shafts ere either side had given way.'³ The scale was finally turned by flanking attacks; one by the Captal, who led his party round the high ground at Bernon to fall on the French right, the other on the French left by Warwick, who had allowed himself to be led away in pursuit of the cavalry, and whose men therefore had done less hard fighting than the others.⁴ At last however the big battalion swayed and broke, "as a breach in a high wall, suddenly, at an instant,"⁵ and all was over, except slaughter and securing of prisoners. The pursuit was followed up to the walls of Poitiers, where a
 Defeat of the French. cruel carnage ensued, the gates at the foot of the hill being closed against the fugitives, for fear of admitting the English.⁶ De Charny saved the Oriflamme at the cost of his life. Chandos led the Prince from the field, while Audley, spent with fatigue and loss of blood, was carried off on a shield by four faithful Cheshire squires. He had vowed that when the banner of the King of France appeared he would be the first in the field.⁷ Meanwhile the unfortunate

¹ "Extrahere sagittas a miserrimis semivivis festinarunt."

² Froissart, I. 350; Chandos Herald, 96.

³ Eulog. III. sup. The account is that of one who was present.

⁴ For this important detail we are indebted to Knighton, 2613.

⁵ Isa. xxx. 13.

⁶ Froissart, 353.

Id. 351; Baker, 153; Chandos Herald, 100. Barnes, 314, gives the names of the squires from Ashmole's Garter, viz. Delues of Doddington, Dutton of Dutton, Fowlehurst of Crewe, and Hawkstone of Wainhill, "all Cheshire men."

King John, amid the *débris* of his battalion, was in danger of being torn in pieces by a crowd of English and Gascon soldiers, battling furiously for the dazzling prize of a king's ransom. Mindful of his dignity, however, John refused to surrender till a man of fitting rank appeared, in the person of one Denis de Morbeque, a knight from Artois, who, having been outlawed for homicide, had taken service with the English. John gave him his glove, asking to be taken to the quarters of his cousin the Prince of Wales. But the mob overpowered the knight, and the King remained in a very awkward predicament, endeavouring to pacify the rioters with promises of 'ransom for all', till he was rescued by the Earl of Warwick.¹ His youngest son Philip, a boy twelve years old, the future Duke of Burgundy, who had stood manfully by his father throughout the action, followed him from the field. Thus ended a battle far more arduous than that of Crécy. The daring attack on the King's big battalion is one of the finest things in military history, and a signal illustration of the advantages enjoyed by men who have nerve enough to face solid columns in open line—the great prerogative of the English soldier. According to the Prince's letter to the Bishop of Worcester already referred to, the English had in their hands 1,975 prisoners, including the King and his son, one archbishop (Sens), thirteen counts, five viscounts, and twenty-one barons. The slain numbered 2,445, among whom were one bishop (Châlons), two dukes (Bourbon and the Duke of Athens) and sixteen bannerets.² The only loss admitted by the English was "the impossibly small total" of four men-at-arms and sixty others,³ together with Eustace of Aubreci-court, a Founder of the Garter, captured by the Germans in the opening skirmish.

If the advice of the Douglas turned the scale in favour of action, the Scottish alliance had its dark side for the French as well as for the Scots.

¹ Froissart, I. 346-348.

² Archacol. I. 213; also given by Buchon, Froissart, 356. The letter of Lord Burghersh to the Bishop of Worcester, printed by Mr. Coxe in his edition of Chandos Herald, gives practically the same numbers. ³ Id.

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For his success in the field the Prince may have been indebted to the generalship of his chief of the staff, John Chandos.¹ The credit of his courteous treatment of the vanquished must be reckoned all his own. That same day he entertained King John and his chief barons at his own table, placing himself below the royal captive, and treating him with the utmost ceremony. He apologized to him for leaving the table to visit Audley, who was reported to be in a sinking condition.² In his dealings with his own followers, however, Edward had an eye to business; he took all the prisoners into his own hands, compounding with their captors, of course.³

Return to
Bordeaux.

On the day after the battle the Prince moved his quarters to the neighbouring village of Les Roches-Marie, remaining there over the following day. On the 23rd September he resumed his march towards Bordeaux, resting at Couhé-Vérac⁴ on the main high road. Embarrassed with prisoners, and laden with spoil, the army advanced by easy stages to Ruffec; then leaving the high road they crossed the Charente to Mouton and Rochefoucault, and so, leaving Angoulême on their right, held south to Saint-Emilion on the Dordogne, which was reached on the 30th September. On the 2nd October the army entered Bordeaux.⁵ It is refreshing to be able to add that we no longer hear of wanton destruction on the march. The English were only anxious to get back safely to Bordeaux with their booty and their captives.⁶ Not a foot even of nominal sovereignty had either of the Prince's raids added to the English dominion; but the possession of the French King's person was no doubt in itself a valuable political asset.

Wild was the Saturnalia of rejoicings in which the disbanded soldiery indulged at Bordeaux, and hot were the

¹ For his services on this day Chandos received a grant of two-thirds of the manor of Kirkton in Lindsay for his life; Foed. III. 343. Audley received an annuity of £400; Barnes, 516, from Patent Roll, 33 Edw. III.

² Baker, 153, 154. Cf. the more highly coloured accounts of Le Bel, II. 201, and Froissart, I. 360.

³ Baker, 155.

⁵ See the Itinerary, Eulog. III. 225, 226.

⁴ Charente.

⁶ Froissart, 361.

disputes over the claims to participate in the King's ransom. Eventually the Prince decided in favour of de Morbeque and gave him 2,000 nobles (£666 13s. 4d.) for his rights, which he was required to surrender as to the King *in toto*.¹ The news of the great victory reached England on the 10th October. The jubilation there was not less fervid than at Bordeaux. "Men were almost beside themselves with joy;" bonfires flared, while the conduits ran with wine. With pardonable self-complacency the King pointed to the victory as evidence that Heaven recognized the justice of his cause.² His son who had fought the fight was able to take a more sober view of the situation. At the request of the Pope³ he allowed Cardinal Talleyrand to negotiate a truce. On the 23rd March 1357 a truce was signed at Bordeaux, to last over two years from Easter Day (9th April).⁴ On behalf of France the treaty was signed by the Duke of Normandy, who, as a matter of course, had taken the reins of government into his hands with the style of King's Lieutenant.

Truce of
Bordeaux.

The truce settled, the Prince made ready to return to England with all his prisoners.⁵ On the 24th April he sailed from Bordeaux; on the 5th May he landed at Plymouth; on Wednesday the 24th of the month he entered London.⁶ More than a thousand of the chief citizens met him on horseback in Southwark. All the city Gilds appeared in their respective liveries. As a martial greeting for a martial Prince, the streets were decked with weapons of war.⁷ King John rode a tall white charger, superbly caparisoned;

Id. and Foed. III. 385. It would seem that the unsuccessful claimants were pacified with licences to wear straps and buckles on their shields; Athenæum, 4 March 1904.

² Barnes, 517; Foed. 340, 341. See also the popular couplet:

"Ore est le Pape devenu Franceys, et Jesu devenu Engleys.

Ore sera vu que fera plus, Pape ou Jesu;"

Knighton, 2615.

³ For the Pope's action see Barnes, 518, 523; Pauli, II. 440.

⁴ Foed. 348.

⁵ For names of prisoners brought to England, see Foed. 357, 358. For sums paid to the captors, Devon, Issues, 168-177. The Prince trafficked in the prisoners, re-selling them to the King.

⁶ Knighton, 2615; Barnes, 525. A due visit to Canterbury was paid on the way.

⁷ Knighton, 2615.

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the Prince attended him on a small black palfrey. Hours elapsed before the procession could make its way from London Bridge to Westminster Hall.¹ Edward III received the Royal prisoner in state, rising graciously from his throne to welcome him, and embracing him as a cousin and a guest.²

¹ Walsingham, I. 283.

² Barnes, sup., from Mezeray ; and the other authorities above. John was shortly established for a time in the Savoy, the inheritance of the House of Lancaster, derived through Edmund Crouchback and Eleanor of Provence from her uncle Peter of Savoy. For the watch kept on the river see Devon, Issues, 168.

CHAPTER XXV

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1357-1360

Pacification.—Liberation of the King of Scots.—Parliament.—State of Ireland.—Chaotic State of France.—The Free Companies.—Troubles in Paris.—The Dauphin, the King of Navarre and Etienne Marcel.—The *Jacquerie*.—Abortive Treaty with France.—Renewal of the War and fresh invasion of France by Edward.—Submission of the Dauphin and execution of Treaty of Brétigny.

PACIFICATION was now the order of the day. A truce CHAP. XXV
for six months was signed with the Scots,¹ and orders sent 1357
to the Duke of Lancaster in Brittany to raise the siege of Pacifica-
Rennes. The raising of the siege was a point specially tion.
stipulated in the truce. The Duke had been blockading
the town since the 2nd October 1356; and it was said
that he had vowed to take the place. Anyhow the King's
orders were slow of reaching his ears, as on the 4th July
a fresh and more peremptory mandate had to be issued.
But by that time the town had come to terms. The citizens
had paid Lancaster 60,000 *écus* (£10,000); the English had
taken formal possession; and then restored the place to
Charles of Blois.² Charles in the previous year had been
allowed to go home on terms.³ But the young de Montfort
had been established as Duke by Lancaster. "Thus
Brittany got back both her Dukes."⁴

But the conclusion of the armistice brought small relief
from suffering to the hapless land of France. Truce or no
truce her woes never ceased. "The four years from
Poitiers to the Peace of Brétigny were years of disaster."

Scotland fared better. Five-and-twenty years of warfare
had convinced Edward that the Scots were not to be

¹ 8th May 1357; Foed. III. 354.

² Foed. 353, 359; Le Bel, II. 207. See also La Borderie, III. 551.

³ Foed. 335, 336.

⁴ Tout.

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subdued by force: one of the very first things that he had done on his return from the Candlemas raid of 1356 was to make an offer of a treaty of 'perpetual amity' with Scotland.¹ His attention was now more than ever engrossed by his schemes in France, but he was not prepared to abandon any of his 'rights' over Scotland; no English king could well discard the hope of incorporating the Northern portion of the Island. He, therefore, made no offer of a formal peace, which would have involved a fresh recognition of Scottish independence; but he offered to conclude a truce for ten years, and to liberate King David for a money ransom, as proposed in 1354. The Scottish Regent made no difficulties. The commissioners named by the Scottish Estates in January 1356 were ready to reopen negotiations.² In December of that year, and again in March 1357, letters of safe-conduct were transmitted to them. On the 8th May a short truce was signed in London.³ The bases of the pacification having been settled, on the 16th August the English commissioners received their final instructions, and arrangements were made for sending David down to Berwick, the place chosen for the conclusion of the treaty. On the 26th September the Scottish Estates authorized their envoys to bind them individually and collectively, *singuli in solidum*, for the payment of 100,000 marks sterling. On the 3rd October the treaty was sealed on behalf of England, and two days later on behalf of Scotland. Ten years were allowed for the payment of the ransom; "twenty Scottish youths, of the first families in the kingdom, were delivered as hostages; in the event of failure in the payment of any instalment the King of Scotland to return to his bonds."⁴ On these terms 'Sir

¹ Foed. III. 325; Rot. Scot. I. 791.

² See above, p. 391, and Foed. 317.

³ Foed. 344, 352; Rot. Scot. 803.

⁴ Foed. 365, 369-379; Rot. Scot. 809-814. For further details see Tytler, II. 112. The counties of Berwick and Roxburgh and the castle of Lochmaben remained in the hands of the English; Rot. Scot. 794, 795, 801. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were again thrown open to Scottish students, and rights of trading in England granted to Scottish merchants; Id. 815, 816, 820, 822. David, on his part, in pursuance of a secret stipulation, dismantled the castles of Dalswynton, Dumfries, Morton, and Durrisdeer; Scotichr. II. 359.

David King of Scotland ' regained his freedom after eleven years of captivity. His faithful Queen returned with him.

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Once more the Scots hailed a King at Scone.¹ The boon ' long desired long deferred ' did not answer the expectations either of King or people. The ransom threw a heavy burden on the resources of a poor country, and the Pope made difficulties about allowing the clergy to contribute.² Then David's private life did not command the respect of his subjects; ³ and he took no pains to consult their feelings. He quarrelled with the ex-Regent, revoking all his acts.⁴ He soon found pretexts for sending his wife to England on business. Joan Make-peace took the hint, and left the Scottish court never to return.⁵ She passed away in England six years later, namely on the 14th August 1362. From the 17th April to the 16th May (1357) a Parliament had sat at Westminster. With the enthusiasm kindled by the victory of Poitiers still at its height, a Fifteenth and Tenth were granted for one year,⁶ although the prolongation of the subsidy on wool for six years had been granted in 1355 " on the understanding that no other tax should be imposed during the period ". A miscellaneous Act of some importance was also passed; the Statute of Labourers and the Ordinance of the Staple were confirmed and amended; native merchants were allowed to export wool for a period of six months; the right of the next of kin to administer to the effects of persons dying intestate was recognized,⁷ and the appellate jurisdiction of the Court of Exchequer Chamber was formally established.⁸

Parliament.

¹ David held a Parliament there on the 6th November, and re-ratified the treaty; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, I. 491; Foed. III. 382. For the expedients adopted for raising the ransom, see Excheq. Rolls Scot. II. xxxviii.

² Fordun, 366; Foed. 396, 407.

³ See Scalacr. 175; Scotichr. II. 345.

⁴ Robertson, Scot. Acts, sup.

⁵ December; Foed. 385; Fordun 380. For David's *liaison* with Katherine Mortimer, see Green, Princesses, III. 151, and Scalacr. and Scotichr., sup.

⁶ Lords' Report; 3rd D. K. Rep. Appendix II. 167; Bp. Stubbs; Statutes, I. 352.

⁷ Down to this time the administration of such estates had been vested in the Ordinary, who could apply the clear residue, after the debts and the portions of the widow and children (two thirds) had been satisfied, to such purposes as he thought fit. See Stephen's Blackstone, II. 177.

⁸ 31 Edw. III, Statutes, I. 352; 3rd D. K. Report, sup.; Bp. Stubbs. The

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The legislative work of the year also included an ' Ordinance for the land of Ireland ' issued on the 25th October. The measure has found its way into the statute book, but there is nothing to show that it was anything more than an Ordinance issued by the King in Council, in the exercise of his lawful prerogative over a crown colony.

The hold of the English government on the Dominion in the sister Isle was so frail, the means of controlling its own officers so imperfect, that no trust could be placed in any who had a settled stake in the country. Edward felt himself obliged to send over born Englishmen—" Castle-men " in the phrase of a later age—to counteract the influence of the domesticated settlers, who showed a strong disposition to ally themselves with the Irish. At the death of the last Earl of Ulster in 1333,¹ considerable portions of the de Burgh estates (which comprised " nearly one-fourth of the territory nominally subject to the Crown of England ") were seized and appropriated by the heads of the junior branches of the family, William and Edmund de Burgh, " ancestors respectively of the Earls of Clanricarde and Mayo." They divided between them the present counties of Galway and Mayo. " Confederating with the native clans of these districts, they renounced their allegiance to England, and adopted the Irish language, apparel, and laws." In Ulster, already much weakened and depopulated by Bruce's war, a sept of the O'Neills, known as the *Clan Aedha Buidhe*, or tribe of Aed the Yellow, crossed the river Bann, expelled most of the settlers from Antrim, and established in this district a principality which thus acquired the name of " Clannabuy ", or " Clandeboye ".² By 1341 the natives had succeeded in regaining more than a third of the territories which had recognized English rule. The three royal fortresses of Athlone, Roscommon, and Randoun were in their hands. To counteract these

formal jurisdiction evidently grew out of the practice at the Exchequer audits, as old as the *Dialogus*, of referring difficult questions to the Barons sitting in a private chamber behind the teller's office.

¹ See above, p. 215, note.

² Gilbert, *Viceroy*s, 182, 185.

mischiefs Edward in 1338 decreed that none but English men should be admitted to any legal offices under the Crown.¹ Again in 1341 he ordered all officers married to Irishwomen, or holding lands in Ireland only, to be removed, requiring their places to be filled by *bona fide* Englishmen holding land in England.² This was followed up by a sweeping revocation of grants made since the time of his father, the confiscated lands being conferred on born Englishmen. The feuds between the old and the new holders became so deadly that "in the words of a colonial chronicler the King's land in Ireland was on the point of passing away from the crown of England".³ The Irish raised loud complaints of the ignorance of the needy adventurers who were sent over to rule them; Edward gave them fair words, but adhered to his new policy. The measure of the present year⁴ was entirely conceived in that spirit; so strongly was the King opposed to any amalgamation of the races that the Ordinance prohibits all intermarriage between the English resident on the Marches and the native Irish. Even the fostering of an English child by an Irish nurse was thought worthy of statutory prohibition, as likely to create a bond of sympathy between a settler and a native.⁵

The presence of the captive King of France was held to call for a series of princely justs and tournaments to be held all in his honour. On New Year's Day 1358 a tilt was held at Bristol, by torchlight: further carousals went on during a session of Parliament that was held at Westminster from the 5th to the 27th February. The martial sports reached their height on St. George's Day (23rd April), when a tournament was opened at Windsor which was pronounced to transcend anything on record since the days of King Arthur. Knights from the Continent were freely invited to appear; at the head of those who came was the Duke of Brabant. King John submitted to play his part

Tourna-
ments.

¹ Gilbert, 188, 190; cf. Foed. II. 1075, 1087, &c.

² "Omnes ministros in terra praedicta beneficiatos, maritatos et possessionatos amoveri faciatis;" Foed. 1171.

³ Gilbert, 191.

⁴ 31 Edw. III., st. 4, s. 18.

⁵ Section 8, see Statutes, I. 357, &c.

CHAP. XXV in the show with quiet dignity ; well knowing that the costs of the entertainment would fall to be defrayed by him. For, as he was said to have remarked, " he had never seen or known of such Royal Shews and Feastings without some after Reckoning for Gold and Silver." ¹

1358

But the more serious attention of the two sovereigns was given to the negotiations for the redemption of King John. Three Cardinals² were in London attending to French interests ; but they were not long of ascertaining that Edward's terms would be pretty stiff, and that he would accept of nothing less than the Avignon conditions of 1354, with a heavy ransom to boot. These terms were approved by Parliament, but the Commons, we are told, suggested a further stipulation ; namely, that the Pope should release King John's rent charge.³ The mere suggestion of such a demand shows how completely the Pope was regarded as the tool of France.

But France was in a state of chaos, socially and politically. The peasants had their substance wrung from them to pay for the ransoms of their lords on the one hand, while on the other hand they were left victims to a novel evil, namely the exactions of the Companies of Adventure, or " Fellowships " as they were termed, disbanded soldiery, mostly English, but including Gascons, Bretons and Spaniards, who, falling in under chosen leaders, roamed through the defenceless land, levying contributions, living at ease, and amassing money. John Griffith, a Welsh Captain, was master of the country between Paris and the Loire ; Knolles and James Pipe, who had been left by the Duke of Lancaster in Brittany, preyed on Normandy, under the banner of Navarre ; ⁴ Arnaud de Cervole, a Gascon, ironically called ' The Archdeacon ' (*L'Archiprêtre*), ravaged Provence,

¹ Eulog. Hist. III. 227 ; Knighton, 2617 ; Scalacr. 176 ; Barnes, 536, &c. ; cf. Foed. III. 392, and Devon, Issues, 169.

² Namely, Talleyrand, Cappoccio and Peter, Archbp. of Rouen ; Foed. 388, 390, 391, &c.

³ So the Scalacr. 177. According to Knighton, 2617, Innocent had been pressing for the arrears of his rent, *in terrorem*.

⁴ Pipe, however, still held Epernon for Edward in 1358 ; Foed. 391.

and levied blackmail, even on the Pope at Avignon (July 1357).¹ CHAP. XXV

The political situation was not less gloomy. From the field of Poitiers the Duke of Normandy, or Dauphin as he should be called, had gone to Paris, to hold Estates, in order to obtain money to carry on the war. He found himself at once confronted by an open opposition of the *bourgeoisie* of Paris, led by Etienne Marcel, Provost of the Merchants; and a covert opposition of the friends of the King of Navarre, headed by Robert le Coq, Bishop of Laon. As the price of a subsidy for the wages of 30,000 men for a year, the combined Opposition put forward a drastic scheme of reform, amounting to the establishment of strict constitutional government, with ministerial responsibility and control of the finances (November 1356). For months, the Dauphin, a sickly, timid lad of nineteen, but possessed of a pertinacity and an acumen that gained for him the title of "*Le Sage*", shuffled and evaded. But when the Estates met again in March 1357 he found himself obliged to concede all their demands. By the Ordinances then passed the new state of things was proclaimed, a state of things for which France was in no way ripe.² In less than a month (5 April) came a mandate from King John announcing the truce of Bordeaux, dissolving the Estates, and forbidding the collection of the subsidy. But the Estates refused to be dissolved. After months of deadlock they met again in November, to demand the liberation of the King of Navarre. Before the Dauphin could give an answer, Charles the Bad had been set free by a party from Amiens, who stormed the castle at Arleux where he was kept under insufficient guard. Hailed by the Parisians, he harangued them in an eloquent 'sermon', delivered from a platform, in which he dwelt on his private wrongs and the misdeeds of the government. Making the best of a bad business, the Dauphin gave Charles a friendly reception, and granted sundry requests. Charles then,

1356

The Dau-
phin.The King
of Navarre.

¹ Arnaud was lay impropiator of the Archdeaconry of Vergnes; Le Bel, II. 215, 216; Scalacr. 184; Sismondi, X. 507. He had fought on the English side at Poitiers; Froissart. ² See Lavisse, IV. 110-121, and documents there cited.

CHAP. XXV feeling sure of Paris, went down to Rouen, to assist in the Franco-Navarrese sub-war being waged by his brother Philip with the help of the English (January 1358). They had made themselves masters of the Cotentin and valley of the Seine; their bands had established themselves to the south of Paris, at Etampes, Montargis and Pithiviers; and so, with their hold of Meulan and Mantes, they commanded all access to Paris. 'The city could not be approached without the safe-conduct of Navarre.'¹ The Dauphin remained in Paris, fencing with Marcel and le Coq, both of whom were perturbed by rumours of the conclusion of a treaty of peace in London. The return of King John would be equally fatal to the schemes of the reformers, and the schemes of the King of Navarre. A rash violation of sanctuary committed by the Dauphin precipitated a crisis. His treasurer having been stabbed by a man in the street in the course of an altercation, and the culprit having taken sanctuary, the Dauphin had him removed by force, and publicly hung next day. Paris was thrown into a state of the greatest commotion. The clergy demanded satisfaction; while Marcel, taking the law into his own hands, led an excited mob to the presence-chamber of the Dauphin, and then and there had the Marshals of Champagne and Burgundy, the officers held responsible for the breach of sanctuary, brutally murdered, as they stood beside their lord. Marcel then presented the terrified Dauphin with the Red and Blue Hood, the popular badge (22 February 1358). Four days later the King of Navarre came back to Paris. Acting in concert with Marcel, he forced the Dauphin to assume the style of Regent, in order to give greater validity to any acts they might please to dictate. For a month the Dauphin remained in Paris virtually a prisoner. At the end of March he slipped away, to hold Estates at Provins in Champagne; the nobility rallied round him, while Marcel, driven further and further along his revolutionary path, began to arm Paris for a siege.²

But a new horror was about to burst upon the troubled

¹ Lavissee, IV. 222-225.

² Id. 125-129, 131.

scene, a peasant rising. Goaded to despair by the manifold exactions under which they groaned, filled with contempt for the beaten and discredited *noblesse*, which could oppress but not protect them, the poor "*Jacques*"¹—as they were called in contempt—rose against their lords, destroying their castles and mansions. The first outbreak happened on the 28th May,² when men from several villages in the *Beauvaisis* met, and stormed a castle or fortified convent at Saint-Leu, held by armed men, who were terrorizing the neighbourhood. The movement spread like wildfire. Peasants, labourers, handicraftsmen, petty traders, all the poorer classes, joined hands; one Guillaume Karle of Mello took the lead, giving himself great airs. Froissart affected to shudder at the thought of the barbarities perpetrated by the *Jacques-Bonhommes*; but, in spite of his assertions and those of other chroniclers,³ it would seem that the movement in fact was not a sanguinary one, and that the business was mainly one of pillaging and destruction of objectionable castles. Only thirty victims in all are said to have been clearly identified, including the men killed in the original outbreak at Saint-Leu. But the extent of the movement was very considerable. From the basin of the Oise it spread into Picardy, round Montdidier, Soissons, Laon, then into Champagne; altogether fourteen modern Departments of France were affected.⁴

But the infuriated *noblesse* soon mustered their forces. Knights from Flanders and Hainault came at their call, while in the King of Navarre—the hope of the Parisian democracy—and his Anglo-Navarrese troops they found most efficient help. The *Jacques* having ventured to meet them in the field, were speedily routed (10 June); a series of pitiless executions followed, the insurgents being hung by hundreds. Before the end of June all was over,⁵ but the Isle de France, for the time, had been reduced to a desert.

¹ Probably so called from the *jacques* or short jackets worn by the peasants; Id. 133, note.

² *Grandes Chroniques*, VI. 110, 113.

³ Froissart, I. 375, 376; Le Bel, II. 219; De Nangis, Cont. III. 119.

⁴ Lavissee, IV. 134.

⁵ Lavissee, 133-137. But the writer who was critical as to the numbers killed

From slaughtering the *Jacques* the King of Navarre had returned to Paris. The confidence of the Parisians in him had been greatly shaken by his last acts, but Marcel, who could not do without him, induced the people for a time to take him as their Captain-General. He led a *bourgeois* force to Compiègne, hoping to seize the Dauphin; the *coup* having failed, he fell back on Senlis. In fact the Dauphin now had round him all the chivalry that had turned out to suppress the *Jacquerie*. On the 29th June he occupied Vincennes, Charenton and Conflans. Navarre, who had already been deprived of the Captain-Generalship, and who no longer felt safe in the city, kept at Saint-Denis. Paris seemed in a state of siege. The parties, however, remained at arm's length, negotiating and intriguing. At last, Marcel, in his extremity, ventured to introduce some of Charles's English Free Lances, the most hated and hateful of men. The mob attacked them, killed some, and drove others to take refuge in the Louvre.¹ The feeling excited in Paris proved fatal to Marcel. On the 31st July a Royalist party ventured to raise their heads, displaying the royal banner, and shouting "*Montjoie! Saint Denis! Au roi et au duc.*" Marcel, who was going the round of the gates endeavouring to get hold of the keys—probably in order to admit the King of Navarre—was mobbed and killed.²

End of
Marcel.

Charles had been scheming to get himself proclaimed King of France by Marcel. The cup was snatched from his hand when almost within reach of his lips. For months he had been negotiating secretly with Edward. Unfortunately neither he nor Edward would forgo the crown of France; both wanted it. Champagne and Brie, the old Navarrese inheritance, was the utmost that the English would offer.

With respect to Etienne Marcel opinion has been much divided. He was evidently a man greatly in advance by the *Jacques*, accepts the chroniclers' estimates of those hung by the gentry without question. See also *Grandes Chroniques*, and *Froissart*, sup., and *Le Bel*, II. 219-226; *De Nangis*, Cont. III. 119,

¹ Lavissee, IV. 137-139; Sismondi, France, X. 533-536.

² Lavissee, 140, 141. The Dauphin was still best known as Duke of Normandy.

of his age, inspired by a noble and laudable purpose of reform. Unfortunately his schemes went far beyond anything that the country was at all prepared for, and so, being excessive, were foredoomed to failure. CHAP. XXV
1358

On the 2nd August the Dauphin entered Paris; two days later he met the citizens at the Hôtel de Ville—Marcel's foundation—and gratified them by issuing politic letters of remission and amnesty. Nevertheless numerous executions followed shortly.¹ Baulked of his prey the King of Navarre went back to his petty warfare in Normandy.²

A central government was now re-established; but the timid Dauphin kept within the walls of Paris, leaving France at the mercy of the Navarrese and the Companies. John Fotheringay held Creil; no man could enter Paris from Noyon, Laon, or Soissons without his safe-conduct, duly paid for.³ Jean de Picquigny and the Navarrese leaders were lords of La Hérèlle and Saint-Valéry, and so had the control of Picardy.⁴ Eustace of Aubrecicourt, a Hainaulter, Albrecht a German and Peter Audley occupied Brie and Champagne; Epernay and Rosnay were taken by them.⁵ But Robert Knolles was the ablest and most successful of these partisan leaders. He was said to have 3,000 men under his orders, an inconvenient and excessive number, we should think. His head-quarters are given as being on the borders of Champagne and Burgundy; but his raids extended to the suburbs of Orleans, and southwards into Berry and Auvergne; he would seem to have operated in various quarters, according to circumstance. In the spring of 1359 we find him assisting Philip of Navarre in Picardy; on the 10th March he took Auxerre.⁶ He had learned his business in Brittany, administering districts on Edward's

¹ Lavissee, IV. 142; Sismondi, X. 541; Martin, V. 211, 212.

² Sismondi, 542; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 137.

³ Le Bel, II. 241; Froissart, I. 337, 393; Scalacr. 184.

⁴ Froissart, 386; Sismondi, 542; Scalacr. sup.

⁵ Le Bel, 237, 242; Froissart, 392. This composite band was especially distinguished for its misconduct, and it became the nucleus of the 'Great Fellowship' of which we hear later.

⁶ Le Bel, 237, 244; Froissart, 395; Sismondi, 549; Knighton, 2619; Grandes Chroniques, 147.

atrocious system, and he still held castles under him there. The South of France fared no better. The Company of the Rose after devastating Provence for seventeen months broke up towards the close of 1358; but 'The Archdeacon' immediately reappeared to take their place: the capture of Aix was his principal achievement.¹ In Brittany and on the borders of Aquitaine steady warfare was kept up.² The desolation of the land must have been something appalling. The roads were deserted; tillage was impossible; dearth and famine were universal. Forced to act for themselves, the districts, at last, began to make their own arrangements, either for resisting or buying off their foes;³ their slowness to do so would imply that even then France was too dependent on its centre.

With France in such a state of anarchy the conclusion of a treaty of peace seemed hopeless. The Pope recalled the Cardinals from England, sending them to mediate between the Dauphin and the King of Navarre; the reconciliation of the two appeared a necessary preliminary to the establishment of peace with England.⁴ King John was removed from the Savoy to Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire; and Edward, determined to let the French see that he was not to be trifled with, ordered shipping to be got ready for a passage to France in the spring.⁵

Edward's firmness, however, had its effect on King John; perhaps the confinement of Somerton pinched him. On the 18th March 1359 he signed an extension of the truce on his own authority, 'in the hope,' as it was put, 'of obtaining good peace;' that is to say to give the Regent time and opportunity of obtaining ratification of a treaty already settled in private between the two kings.⁶ The actual text

¹ Sismondi, X. 548, citing Villani and Vic et Vaissete.

² See Scalacr. 180-183. The third period of the Breton War (1362-1371) was still running.

³ See De Nangis, Cont. III. 121, 125.

⁴ Foed, III. 405, 406.

⁵ Id. 411-414. Envoys from Languedoc came over, with offers of money, but Edward refused them; Id.; Knighton, 2618.

⁶ Foed. 422. John signed the truce in London; according to Knighton he had accepted Edward's terms in January; for his acceptance of them see Foed. 442.

of the treaty has not been preserved but its substance can be given. In the true spirit of a French King John evidently thought that no price could be too high for his subjects to pay for his personal comfort and liberation. The Archbishop of Sens was sent to Avignon to sound the Papal *Curia*. The Pope seeing no objection, the treaty was transmitted to France in May, under the charge of the Archbishop and other Poitiers captives.¹ The Regent summoned the States General to Paris for the 19th May. The war with the King of Navarre was still raging; and very few deputies appeared. After waiting some days for a fuller gathering, the Dauphin on the 25th May propounded the treaty. The terms, we are told, included the absolute cession of Gascony and Guienne, in their widest acceptance, with Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Normandy, in all about two-thirds of France with the overlordship of Brittany to boot. The French were in terrible straits, but they had not yet been brought so low as to lose their sense of national honour. Taking their cue from the Dauphin, the deputies rejected the treaty with scorn. Rather than consent to the dismemberment of their noble realm, they declared that they would endure their present ills, and leave King John in prison, till such time as it should please God to find means for his deliverance.²

John was sent back to Somerton, and Edward resumed his preparations.³ Archers mounted and on foot were levied, of course without any form of sanction from Parliament; arrangements were made for procuring extra shipping and supplies from the Low Countries; while foreign mercenaries were invited to enlist at Calais. The wasted state of France made it necessary to provide stores of an unusual character, such as hand mills for grinding corn, and portable ovens for baking, things till then unheard of in campaigning. Even sporting appliances were not forgotten,

War again.

¹ Foed. III. 423, 425; cf. Le Bel, II. 245; Froissart, I. 409; Knighton, 2620.

² 25 May, Sismondi, X. 555, citing Secousse, Préface des Ordonn., 86; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 151; Le Bel, 246; Froissart, 410, and Buchon's notes.

³ On the 5th July all Frenchmen were ordered to leave London; Delpit, Documents Français, 82.

CHAP. XXV such as coracles¹ for fishing, and hawks and hounds for the King's hunting; but these were not novelties. On the 12th August war was declared, but the expedition underwent the usual delays. Shipping was the great difficulty, a difficulty aggravated by the practice of wholesale impressment.²

1359

The King's call for auxiliaries met with the promptest response. From the end of August swarms of adventurers began to flock to Calais. From Saxony to Friesland every nationality was represented, with the Margrave of Misnia at their head. Provisions soon became scarce. As week by week the King's coming was delayed, the distress and discontent of the turbulent gentry waxed greater. Edward became alarmed for the safety of Calais, and sent Lancaster with a body of troops 'to make his excuses'. The Duke found occupation for his dangerous friends by leading them into Artois and Picardy, 'to ravage and to spoil.' The open country was pretty bare already, and the unprovided army suffered accordingly.³

The King's
Crossing.

On the 28th October Edward at last crossed from Sandwich to Calais; his four elder sons Edward, Lionel, John and Edmund accompanied him⁴—Thomas of Woodstock the youngest being left at home as nominal Regent.⁵ A brilliant attendance of magnates followed the royal standard; among them the Earls of Warwick, March, Stafford, Northampton and Salisbury, and the Barons Burghersh, Basset of Drayton, Cobham, Grey of Codenore, Brian, Le Despenser, and de Ros of Hamelake; with of course Chandos and Audley. Among

¹ 'Nacelles de cuir bouilly soubtillement faites que il povait bien trois hommes pour nager,' &c.; Le Bel, II. 267; Froissart.

² See Foed. III. 427-452, also 414-417; cf. Le Bel, 246, 355; Knighton, 2621, Froissart, I. 417, &c.

³ Le Bel, 246-248; Froissart, 414-418; Scalacr. 187, &c.

⁴ Froissart, 417; Barnes, 568.

⁵ Foed. 450-452. Commissions for arraying the male population under the Statute of Winchester were issued by the Regency for the defence of the realm, but it was found impossible to enforce literal observance of the act, the arms formerly in use having become obsolete; Foed. 449, 455, 463. The council obtained an extra customs duty of 6*d.* in the £1 on all exports and imports for shipping for convoy purposes, Id. 459, 465; Wake, 300; and in February a Tenth was obtained from the clergy in convocation.

the younger 'valets' making their first appearance in the field was GEOFFREY CHAUCER in the retinue of Lionel; among the veterans came Grey of the Scalacronica. As for the rank and file, the horse archers called for only numbered 910; the footmen came to 3,474, of whom 644 were Welsh, partly spearmen partly pioneers. What are we to say for the complement of men-at-arms? In the Prince's contingent of 1355 we found that he had fully half as many men-at-arms as archers; allowing the same large proportion as the present occasion, say 1,400 men-at-arms, we should have a grand total approaching 6,000 men, all told.¹

Within a week from the time of his landing the King began his advance.² He had not gone far when he met Lancaster coming back with his hungry pack. The unfortunate men laid their case before the King, pointing out that many of them had been obliged to sell their horses to buy bread. Edward, no longer in need of their services, told them to go to Calais, to refresh themselves for a day or two. At Calais they got their answer, and that was that their claims for damages and arrears could not be entertained; but that if any cared to follow the King without pay for a share of the plunder, they were welcome to come. Not many were found to avail themselves of this handsome offer.³

Edward was prepared to abandon his pretensions to the crown of France; but he aspired to being hallowed King of France at Reims, where he had a friend in the person of the Archbishop; and towards Reims accordingly he directed the march of his troops. To facilitate foraging they marched in three parallel columns: the left, under the King's own command, took the route by Saint-Omer, Arras, Cambrai and Thierasche; the right column under the Prince of Wales marched by Montreuil, Hesdin and Ham; the third column under the Duke of Lancaster held a middle course. No

Campaign
in North-
East of
France.

¹ See Foed. III. 415, 416, 439-447. 263 noblemen and gentlemen received personal safe-conducts; Chandos Herald, 118, raises the total number to 10,000 men.

² Monday, 4 November, Scalacr. 187; Froissart, I. 417; Walsingham, I. 287; Saturday, 2 November, Eulog., III. 228. The latter would be the day of the start of the van.

³ Le Bel, II. 250; Froissart, I. 415.

CHAP. XXV opposition was offered to them. The only difficulties with
 1359 which they had to contend were the weight of their baggage-train, the devastated state of the country, and continuous downpours of rain and snow, making their march one of unusual hardship. December was well advanced before the whole force was gathered round the walls of Reims.¹

In view of the impending invasion the Dauphin had come to terms with *Charles le Mauvais*, making him the largest concessions in land and money,² and the two had returned to Paris in apparent friendship; the King of Navarre to carry on his underhand intrigues, and the Regent to follow the enforced policy of passive resistance, allowing the fire of English devastation to burn itself out.³

Reims, like all other towns of any consequence, was fully prepared for a siege; but the English were not strong enough to attempt any regular siege operations; their achievements in that sphere being limited to the capture of such petty fortresses as Attigny, Cormicy, Cernay and Autry. Having reached Reims, they merely established themselves in the neighbouring villages, blockading the place, while their foraging parties scoured the country from Soissons and Laon to Mézières and Donchery. One band forced its way to the very suburbs of Paris, the Great Company of Champagne co-operating.⁴ After a month of devastating but fruitless warfare round Reims,⁵ Edward in January 1360 broke up his camp, and, marching southwards past the walls of Châlons-sur-Marne and Troyes, crossed the Seine at Méry; from whence he held on towards Sens and Cerisiers (Yonne, near Joigny).⁶ From Cerisiers he turned his steps eastwards towards Burgundy, and extending his forces so as to cover the country between the

¹ Scalacr. 187; Knighton, 2621; Walsingham, sup.; De Nangis, Cont., III. 125; cf. Froissart, I. 418, &c.; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 165.

² Pontoise, 19 August.

³ Lavissee, IV. 151.

⁴ Froissart, 422; Scalacr. 188; Knighton 2621, 2622; Le Bel, II. 256.

⁵ "Un mois en temps de Noël," Scalacr. "Nihil omnino profecit hac mora," Walsingham; cf. Froissart, 423, 426. The date of the King's departure is given by the Grandes Chroniques, 167, as 11 January 1360; Walsingham gives the 13th January.

⁶ Scalacr. 189; Grandes Chroniques, 167.

Armançon and the Yonne, stormed the town of Tonnerre,¹ rich in stores of old Burgundy wine. Short stages to Nyers and Montréal followed, and then Edward sat down for Lent at Guillon-sur-Serain (Yonne, Ash-Wednesday, 19 February, 1360).² Philip de Rouvre, Duke of Burgundy, fearing a further advance into his territory, hitherto spared, sent agents to Guillon to buy a private truce. Edward made him pay smartly for it, requiring the enormous ransom of 200,000 *moutons d'or* as the price of a truce for three years, the Duke further undertaking to recognize Edward as King of France, if he should succeed in getting himself hallowed King of France, at Reims, and with the consent of a majority of the other peers.³ Well pleased at having so far secured the support of the leading peer of France, Edward left Burgundy, crossed the Yonne at Coulanges, and held straight for Paris. On the 31st March he halted at Chant-de-Loup, now Arpajon, near Montlhéry, remaining there over Easter Day (5th April).⁴ His men employed the Holy Week in ravaging and burning as usual.⁵ Two days before, envoys had come in from Paris, but their terms were not acceptable; Edward then advanced to Bourg-la-Reine (7th and 8th April), while the divisions of the Prince and the Duke of Lancaster established themselves in the suburbs of Châtillon, Issy, Vanves and Vaugirard. The Dauphin was always willing to negotiate, but nothing would provoke him to action. In vain Lord Manny brought his lances up to the very barriers; not a French knight was allowed to stir (Sunday 12th April).⁶ Paris was so crowded with refugees that ten priests from the country had to celebrate in one church for their several flocks.⁷

Under the
walls of
Paris.

Baffled but not defeated Edward fell back on Montlhéry

¹ So Froissart.

² Grandes Chroniques and Scalacr., sup.; Froissart, I. 426.

³ Guillon, 10 March; Foed. III. 473; Lavissee, IV. 152.

⁴ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 168; Froissart, 427, 428, notes; Le Bel, II. 261; Scalacr. 191.

⁵ See De Nangis, Cont., III. 126. The writer saw the smoke from Paris.

⁶ "Assez près de St. Marcel"; Grandes Chroniques.

⁷ Lavissee, 153.

CHAP. XXV

1360

and Chartres, encountering an extraordinary spell of cold weather, with hail, rain, wind and snow. His declared intention was to descend the basin of the Loire, to refresh his troops in Brittany, and then return for the siege of Paris in summer.¹

But the French were beginning to feel that at whatever price a respite must be bought. Edward again saw that his numbers were shrinking daily, and he was receiving bad news from home. The Scots had concluded a treaty with the Dauphin; while a fleet raised by local efforts in Normandy and Picardy had assumed the offensive, burned Winchelsea, and thrown all England into a state of panic.²

Negotia-
tions.

The Pope had never ceased his pious efforts in the cause of peace, and had already named mediators.³

On the 27th April the Dauphin sent out his plenipotentiaries; on the 1st of May the conference began at Brétigny, a hamlet about six miles from Chartres. The French were represented by Jean de Dormans, Chancellor of Normandy, the Count of Tancarville and Marshal Boucicault. The Duke of Lancaster, the friend of peace, took the leading part on the English side. The discussions lasted eight days, a short time if we consider the importance of the questions involved. Edward made a stand for the crown, or, at all events for Normandy. Lancaster, with his usual good sense and moderation, induced him to give way. On the 7th May a truce to Michaelmas 1361 was sealed; and next day the Treaty of Brétigny was published. Edward, as a King, could not treat with any personage less than a King; the treaty therefore was expressed to be made merely as between the Dauphin and the Prince of Wales. Edward renounced his pretensions to the Crown of France, and all claim of overlordship over Normandy, Anjou, Maine,

¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, VI. 170; *Scalacr.* 193; *De Nangis*, Cont., III. 126, 127; *Froissart*, sup., and notes.

² *Walsingham*, I. 287; *De Nangis*, 125; *Foed.* III. 468-477.

³ Andouin, Abbot of Clugny, and Hugh of Geneva were accredited to the English court, while Simon of Langres, General of the Dominicans, was accredited to the French Regency; *Foed.* 472, 505, 527; *Froissart*, I. 431.



Touraine, Brittany and Flanders. On the other hand he received, besides Guyenne in its widest acceptation, Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis (*La Rochelle*), the Agenais, Périgord, Limousin, Quercy, Bigorre, Gaure, Angoumois, and Rouergue, all on the footing on which the same were previously held by the King of France. The cession carried with it the right to the homages of the Counts of Foix, Armagnac, Lille-Jourdain, Périgord and other feudatories who held lands within the limits of the ceded territory. In the North, Ponthieu and Montreuil, with a small district round Calais, comprising the county of Guisnes, and all from Sangatte to Gravelines, were granted in like sovereignty, as also all islands adjacent to the ceded territories, and all islands then held by the English. King John's ransom was fixed at the prodigious sum of three million crowns of gold at 3s. 4d. the crown (£500,000). He would be taken forthwith to Calais; but 600,000 crowns (£100,000) would have to be paid down before he would be allowed to leave that place; the balance to be paid by annual instalments of 400,000 crowns. Forty-one hostages of the highest rank, and forty-two leading *bourgeois* of the chief cities of France to be given up as hostages. The delivery of the hostages, and the surrender of La Rochelle, to precede the liberation of the King. The question of the Breton succession was not decided, the rival claims of John of Montfort and Charles of Blois being reserved for further consideration. Lastly France renounced the Scottish alliance, and England the Flemish alliance.¹

Of this compact the only remark that need be made is that it was impossible of execution. No earthly power could ever have compelled the French to acquiesce permanently in such a scheme. Edward had utterly overshot the mark.

On the 10th May the treaty was sworn by the Dauphin on the altar of Notre-Dame; a thankful *Te Deum* was sung, processions were formed at all the churches, the streets were decorated, and the whole city began to recover

¹ Focd. III. 487, &c., and 514; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 175.

something of its wonted life and gaiety, so great was the sense of relief, hard as the terms were.¹

As soon as the signature of the treaty was reported to Edward, the army was started for the coast, as previously agreed upon. All towns and markets were thrown open to them, a French escort keeping them company. On the 16th May the treaty was sworn by the Prince at Louviers.² The King himself pushed on to Honfleur, with such diligence, that he landed at Rye on the 18th of the month. The Earl of Warwick was left as Guardian of the Truce in Normandy, while Lancaster with the relics of the weary army was sent by Pont-de-l'Arche to Calais.³

The mortality of the long campaign had been very great. Among the losses were Roger Mortimer 2nd Earl of March; Guy eldest son of the Earl of Warwick; and Robert, Lord Morley, the Admiral, and his son. In the autumn of 1359, 263 personal safe-conducts had been issued; only 105 were issued in April 1360.⁴

King John heard of the conclusion of the treaty with undisguised satisfaction. All that he asked for was to be set at liberty; and for that he had been willing to give as much, if not more, than was now demanded. After a suitable interchange of Royal courtesies, and hollow pledges of good faith and amity, with a formal leave-taking of the court at Eltham, on the 8th July John was taken from Dover to Calais.⁵ For three years and two months he had been detained in England. But before he could fairly be set at liberty a good deal had yet to be done; the first instalment of the ransom had to be paid; hostages had to be delivered; and La Rochelle and other places surrendered. But the *Rochellais* refused stubbornly to change their

¹ De Nangis, Cont., III. 128; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 200.

² Grandes Chroniques, 199, 202; Scalacr. 196.

³ Le Bel, II. 271; Froissart, I. 439; Scalacr. sup.; Foed. III. 494.

⁴ See Knighton, 2624; Walsingham, I. 288; Foed.; Barnes, 583.

⁵ Le Bel, II. 272; Froissart, 439; Foed. 504. On the 27th June John presented a thank-offering at St. Paul's, at the shrine of St. Eadconwald; and on his way to the coast he paid a visit to that of St. Thomas; Barnes, 293; Pauli, II. 452. For parting gifts of jewellery presented by Edward to John, see Devon, Issues, 156.

allegiance, and in fact held out till December. To raise the 600,000 *écus*, commissioners had been sent round the chief cities to negotiate loans; but the money came in very slowly, and Edward at the last had to be content with 400,000 *écus*. The gathering of the hostages was another difficulty. John overcame the reluctance of the French magnates by tendering his brother the Duke of Orleans, and his two sons Louis and John, now respectively Dukes of Anjou and Berry. Philip his youngest, the brave boy of Poitiers, he was allowed to take home with him.¹ The other prisoners were also set free clear of ransom, except as to engagements entered into prior to the 3rd May, but always under obligation of returning into captivity if Rochelle was not duly surrendered, and the balance of the 600,000 *écus* paid.²

Matters having made a certain progress, on the 9th October Edward went over to Calais, the Dauphin being established at Saint-Omer.³ Fifteen days were spent in engrossing the endless parchments; on the 24th October the treaty of Brétigny was finally ratified by the two Kings in person, with one most important modification. At the suggestion of the French the clause of the original treaty, stipulating for the renunciation by Edward of the claim to the Crown of France, and by John of the overlordship of the ceded districts, was struck out; and in lieu thereof identical letters *mutatis mutandis* were exchanged between the two Kings, each promising 'as soon as possible, and at the latest before the 30th November year', the one to surrender all rights of overlordship over the ceded districts, the other to renounce all claim to the Crown of France, and all user of the style of King of France; and for the execution of these mutual covenants each King pledges himself to deliver the renunciations to be made on his part 'at Bruges if our said brother shall have delivered to our people at the said place the renunciations to be made on his side'.⁴ As

¹ Le Bel, II. 273; Froissart, I. 440.

² Foed. III. 537-542.

³ Barnes; Grandes Chroniques.

⁴ "En cas que notre dit frère nous envoiera ses renonciations qui sont affaire de sa partie."

neither side was to move till after the other side had moved, not much progress was likely to be made. John however pledged himself in the meantime to exercise no rights of overlordship over the ceded districts.¹ This modification has been claimed as a triumph for French diplomacy. No doubt it enabled John's son by ignoring the stipulation as to the non-exercise of the rights of overlordship to find an excuse for war which he could easily have found without any finessing. On the other hand it seems to us that the renunciation of the crown was the one thing to be striven for by the French beyond all others. So long as the question of the crown was open, the breach remained incurable, and 'good peace' impossible. If Edward III had finally renounced the crown, Henry V would never have had the seeming excuse that he had for re-opening the war in 1414. The Calais clauses cost France the second half of the Hundred Years' War.

Among the minor stipulations, Edward, very properly, was required to pledge himself to deliver up all castles and places held by him, or in his name, within the non-ceded districts. But he was mean enough to demand payment at the rate of 10,000 rials (*royals*) per month for the keep of the French king for every month of his stay at Calais after the first month.²

Everything having been settled and sealed, the two Kings knelt down before the high altar of St. Nicholas, Calais, and took the oaths. On the same day a treaty of peace was signed between France and Navarre.³ Next morning, being Sunday the 25th October, John was allowed to leave Calais a free man. Edward escorted him about a league on the way to Boulogne; the Prince of Wales went all the way, remaining over the night at Boulogne. On the 26th October John re-ratified his engagements at Boulogne, and signed a fresh treaty of perpetual friendship with the King of England.⁴ Early in November Edward re-crossed the Channel.

¹ See the letters and the more formal treaty based on them, Foed. III. 519, 522-524.

² Foed. 516.

³ Sismondi, X. 577, citing Sécousse, "Charles Le Mauvais".

⁴ Foed. III. 514-545; cf. Froissart, I. 440-451; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 217. The question of Brittany was again adjourned.

CHAPTER XXVI

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1359-1364

Domestic Affairs.—The Second Plague.—King's Family Arrangements.—Marriage of the Prince of Wales.—Difficulties connected with Brétigny terms.—Prince of Wales in Aquitaine.—Parliaments.—The Calais Staple.—King John returns to England and dies.

No Parliament had been held in the year 1359; but CHAP. XXVI
a grant of an extra 6*d.* on the £1 of all imports and exports 1359
had been obtained from delegations of merchants for the
defence of the coasts, as already mentioned.¹ In February Money
1360 under alarm of invasion, Tenths had been granted by grants.
both Provinces in Convocation.² A little later a Fifteenth
and Tenth were obtained from local Parliaments of com-
moners, summoned to meet at five different centres, namely,
London, Worcester, Taunton, Leicester and Lincoln. The
grants however were not wholly raised, the alarm having
passed away with the conclusion of peace.³

On the 24th January 1361 a full Parliament met at West- Parlia-
minster. The treaty of Brétigny, as modified at Calais, was ment.
laid before the Houses, and received their most hearty ap-
proval. By the legislation of this session the time-honoured
institution of Conservators of the Peace, dating ostensibly
from the year 1195, but in fact representing the Anglo-
Saxon ordinances of Hue and Cry, was raised to its final
position of dignity and importance. In 1344 (18th year)
certain specially named Conservators had been commis-
sioned to hear and determine felonies; now all Conser-
vators were regularly empowered to do so; to mark their
new position the honorific title of Justices of the Peace was
conferred upon them.⁴

The struggle with the refractory labourers continued,

¹ Foed. III. 459, &c. Above, p. 434, note.

² Id. 458, 496; Wake, 300.

³ Foed. 480, 503.

⁴ 34 Edw. III. c. 1; Statutes, I. 364; Bp. Stubbs, sup. II. 285.

CHAP. XXVI fresh measures being found necessary; lastly the exportation of corn was forbidden, on account of the heavy demand for France.¹

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The rejoicings over the victory of Crécy had been followed at no great interval by the first and worst outbreak of the plague. By a curious coincidence a second visitation of the same calamity followed hard on the execution of the treaty of Brétigny. The pestilence broke out in the wasted districts of Picardy and Flanders in the autumn of 1360; in the following spring it spread northwards and southwards with all the well-known symptoms. At Avignon eight Cardinals died; the Pope could not spare an auditor to fill an English bishopric.² In England the first note of alarm may perhaps be traced in a sanitary ordinance of the 25th February 1361, requiring all animals for the London markets to be slaughtered at Stratford or Knightsbridge. On the 10th May the law courts were closed, and were not reopened till Michaelmas.³ Travelling north, by February 1362 the plague was raging in Scotland, and continued to rage there till Christmas.⁴ As on the former occasion, so now, the pestilence was followed by a grievous murrain among cattle. But the notices of the Second Plague to be found in the writers are scanty; the extent of its ravages must be inferred from indirect sources, such as the lists of men of rank and position who fell victims to it. Chief of these was Henry of Lancaster, the Good Duke, the most interesting personage of the reign. Brave, humane and upright, a friend of the clergy, the scholars and the poor, he might be taken as the living original of Chaucer's "verray perfight gentil knight".⁵ The enduring popularity of his name stood his son-in-law John of Gaunt in good

¹ Statutes, sup. Foed. III. 603, 613.

² See Sismondi, X. 585; Foed. 628.

³ Foed. 604, 616, 621.

⁴ Fordun, 380; Scotichr. II. 364; Wyntoun.

⁵ "qi Henry estoit sage, glorious, et prus, et en sa juvent revaillous en honour et armys, et devaunt soun decesse durement bon Cristien." Scalacr. 200; cf. Knighton, 2625; Barnes, 617. Chaucer had already written his Assembly of Fowls or Parliament of Birds, in honour of the marriage of Lancaster's daughter Blanche with John of Gaunt celebrated 19 May 1359. Lancaster died on the 13th March 1362; Complete Peerage; Doyle.

stead; and undoubtedly helped to raise his grandson to the throne. Among the other notabilities who died within the year were Reginald Lord Cobham, and John, Lord Mowbray of Gower; Thomas Murray of Bothwell and the eldest son of the Earl of Sutherland, Scottish hostages; the Count of Saint-Pol, a French hostage; and five bishops, namely Thomas de Lisle, Bishop of Ely; Thomas Falstolf of St. David's; John Pascal of Llandaff; Michael Northburgh of London and Reginald Brian of Worcester.¹ On the country in general the effect of the second plague was to neutralize all recovery of population effected since 1348, and to accentuate the rise in wages inaugurated at that time. In spite of King and Parliament the rates of wages kept steadily rising. Between 1360 and 1370 the advance was very marked.² The ranks of the lower clergy were not less seriously thinned than those of the Prelacy. Archbishop Islip endeavoured to meet the dearth of labour on the one hand, by curtailing the number of Church holidays; and to facilitate the filling of vacant cures on the other hand, by lowering the legal stipends of priests.³

The losses of the years 1360 and 1361 made a considerable gap in the circle of Edward's friends and advisers; but they gave him an opportunity of maturing "his scheme for the settlement of his family", and for making those arrangements from which sprang the strifes "that make up the history of the next century".⁴

Henry of Grosmont, the Duke of Lancaster, left two daughters, Maud the elder married to William of Bavaria, younger son of the late Emperor Louis or Ludwig IV, and Blanche the younger married to John of Gaunt (*Gand*), third surviving son of the King. At her father's death Maud came to England to claim her rights, but, dying

¹ Murimuth, Cont. 195; Walsingham, I. 296; Bp. Stubbs, Reg. Sac. ; Scotichr. sup.; Hailes' Annals. Birchington includes among the bishops who died of the plague John Trilleck of Hereford, who died 30 November 1360; Anglia Sacra, I. 45.

² See Rogers, Prices, I. 320; II. 316; e.g. for threshing the decennial average rises from 3½d. to 4½d.

³ Walsingham, 297.

⁴ Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 436.

CHAP. XXVI suddenly, and perhaps unaccountably (1362), left the whole of the vast inheritance to descend to Blanche and her husband.¹

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Lionel of Antwerp, the King's second surviving son, had been married in 1342 to Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of William, 'the Brown Earl' (*Farla donn*) of Ulster.² From her grandmother Elizabeth of Clare she derived one-third of the great Gloucester inheritance, besides her father's Irish property.³ Lionel, being now twenty-three years old, was sent over to Ireland as King's Lieutenant, to try his hand at governing the Irish.⁴

Marriage
of the
Prince of
Wales.

But the great event of the year 1361 in the Court circle was the marriage of the Prince of Wales to his cousin Joan of Kent, under circumstances, it must be said, not altogether creditable to the parties. The lady had the double attraction of being a beauty and an heiress, being daughter of Earl Edmund of Kent, and so grand-daughter of Edward I. Her personal charms had gained her the name of the Fair Maid of Kent. But her reputation was not unblemished. She had been married twice and divorced once ;⁵ the Prince had stood godfather to one of her children, in itself a bar to the marriage in the eyes of the Church, and her second husband, Thomas Holland, had not been buried nine months when a private marriage with the Prince of Wales was announced. The Pope confessed some doubts as to the propriety of granting the necessary dispensation, but as he was assured that great scandal would ensue if he withheld his consent, he gave way ; the private marriage was annulled, and a dispensation for a new marriage granted ;

¹ Scalacr. 200 ; Knighton, the staunch partisan of the old House of Lancaster, broadly hints that Maud met with foul play ; Cont. 2626 ; Barnes, 617.

² 15 August 1342 ; Murimuth, 125 ; Knighton, 2584.

³ Gilbert, Viceroy, 182, 215.

⁴ July-September 1361 ; Foed. III. 606, 609, &c. ; Gilbert, 218.

⁵ The first husband was William Montacute II, Earl of Salisbury, who was still living. The second was Thomas Holland, Steward of the Household to the Earl, who asserted that he had been contracted to the lady before she was contracted to the Earl ; the matter was referred to Clement VI, and, the Earl acquiescing, the lady was adjudged to Holland ; Foed. 627. Compare Sandford, 184 ; and Complete Peerage, "Kent".

the Royal pair were put through a form of penance, and then publicly re-married by Archbishop Islip (Windsor, 20 October). The King and Queen were present with their sons John and Edmund, and their daughter Isabelle. The Queen of Scots, Matilda Countess of Hainault, and all the Baronage, as in duty bound, were there,¹ but the marriage was very unpopular with the country.

When the 30th November, the day appointed for the final ratifications and surrenders came, much yet remained to be done. Edward had dropped the style of King of France, but not the quartering of the Lilies;² he had surrendered the castles held in France in his own name, but had not succeeded in recalling the English Free Lances who were preying on the land. The French Government on the other hand had apparently done their best. In December (1360) the resistance of the *Rochellais* was overcome, as already mentioned. In October John had sealed orders for the surrender of Guisnes and Ponthieu; but the people submitted slowly and reluctantly. The Constable, Robert of Fiennes, holding lands in the county of Guisnes, refused to recognize Edward.³ On the 12th April 1361 Edward was complaining that Ponthieu had not yet been delivered.⁴ On the 1st July Chandos and others were commissioned to receive the transfers of the Southern provinces, on behalf of King Edward. On the 27th of the month John sealed documents making full transfer of these territories, saving the sovereignty and the "*dernier ressort*" 'till due renunciation of the crown of France made by Edward'.⁵ This was in strict accordance with the treaty of Calais, by which the renunciations were to be tendered at Bruges simultaneously. After some shuffling and delay, on the 22nd September the keys of Poitiers were delivered to Chandos by the Mayor of the city and Marshal Boucicault.⁶ The attornment of the other towns of Poitou, with

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The Treaty
of Brétigny.¹ Foed. III. 626, 633.² See the engraving of the Great Seal, Foed. 607.³ Lavissee, IV. 157.⁴ Foed. 608, 714.⁵ Foed. 624, 631; see also Vic et Vaissette, IV. 313.⁶ It seems that possession of the keep-tower of Poitiers carried with it the right to the homage of all Poitou.

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that of Limousin, Angoumois, Saintonge and Périgord, followed shortly; but the surrenders of Quercy and Rouergue were not obtained till January and February 1362. The great feudatories, such as the Counts of Périgord, Armagnac and Rodez protested not less energetically against the transfer of their homages than the lesser folk.¹

But the raising of the money for the King's ransom proved the greatest difficulty of all. The 200,000 *écus* in arrear from the first instalment were paid up in December and February; but the remaining instalments of 400,000 *écus* each became the standing difficulty of the rest of the reign. A windfall in the shape of a dowry of 600,000 *écus* that Galeazzo Visconti, the rich Lord of Milan, was content to pay for the honour of obtaining the hand of John's daughter Isabelle for his son Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, gave some relief;² but crushing taxation had to be imposed, the situation being aggravated by the 'incurable frivolity' of King John, who squandered the treasure needed for so many purposes as if it had been pocket money.³

On the 15th November Edward named commissioners to receive the renunciations of the King of France, authorizing them 'if necessary, and if the French agents should require it', to tender on his behalf all 'reasonable' letters of acquittance.⁴ Thus it would seem that the statement of the French writers that when the envoys met at Bruges the French were ready with due letters of renunciation, but that the English were not, was perfectly correct.⁵ A few days later (13th January 1362) the Pope wrote to Edward complaining of sudden difficulties which had arisen, and begging him earnestly to remove all doubts as to the honesty of his intentions.⁶ Edward complained of the reservation

¹ Foed. III. 555, 654-665; Lavissee, IV. 157-159.

² Froissart, I. 440; Villani, IX. 617.

³ Lavissee, 159-161.

⁴ Foed. 629: "De faire a nostre dit frere de France suffisantes lettres de quitance et de absolucion sur la recepcion des lettres devandites, et tantes et teles qui li devront suffire par raison."

⁵ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 254, and Juvenal des Ursins, cited Hallam, Middle Ages, I. 59.

⁶ "Quaelibet ex parte tua dubia removendo;" Foed. 634.

of "*le dernier ressort*", and declared that he would tender a full renunciation when that clause was struck out.¹ But as the reservation was so worded as only to hold good until the English renunciation should be made,² if Edward had only tendered a transfer couched in the same terms as that of John it would seem that the renunciations on both sides would have been complete.³ Edward apparently when he accepted the original treaty at Brétigny had made up his mind to renounce the Crown of France in return for large territorial cessions. The unfortunate modifications, as we consider them, introduced at Calais, gave him time to think over the matter again, and now, having got possession of the lands, he drew back.

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Edward
drawing
back.

But the transfer of the ceded districts did not better the position of the rest of France. The "Fellowships" had yet to be got rid of. Edward for the most part had procured the surrender of the castles held in his name, but not the retirement of the unruly garrisons, who remained on their own account, swelling the ranks of the marauders. Well disciplined and mobile, these locust bands could shift their quarters at a moment's notice, and pounce down on districts previously supposed to be safe. Brittany was still held debatable land. Edward, as the self-constituted guardian of young John of Montfort, could still farm out castles there. Robert Knolles had three castles of him, for which he paid a rent of 1,000 marks a year.⁴ But we note with some satisfaction that the English were said to treat the peasantry with more consideration than their own native lords did.⁵ When King John was set free a concentration of Free Lances took place in Brie and Champagne; but even before that the "Great Fellowship", and one known as *Les Tard Venus* (The Late-comers), had been terrorizing the country between Auxerre, Dijon and Lyons. On the 1st January 1361 the 'Late-comers' seized Pont

¹ See Foed. III. 681.

² "Jusques les renonciacions soient faites."

³ Compare three papers by MM. Sécouse, Salier and Bonamy in the Académie des Inscriptions, vol. XV.

⁴ Foed. 498.

⁵ Froissart, I. 452, note; De Nangis, Cont. III. 128.

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Saint-Esprit on the Rhone, about 25 miles from Avignon, to the great terror of the Pope. Bought out of Saint-Esprit, some, under Hawkwood, retired into Italy to wage profitable war on the Visconti, under the banner of Montserrat. Others moved into Languedoc, where they plundered the country from Nîmes to Albi, even pushing raids into Auvergne. At last, however, Languedoc was roused to self-defence. A Spanish band, under Don Enrique of Trastamare, a claimant to the throne of Castile, was taken into pay. At their approach the brigands moved to Brignais, on the Rhone, about 8 miles from Lyons, where they established themselves in the castle. The great barons turned out in force to crush the band, but Jacques de Bourbon, Count of La Marche, was rash enough to attack the marauders in a strong position, before the whole of the national forces had come up. The Lances delivered a crushing flank attack and overwhelmed him. Bourbon and his son Peter, and the Counts of Forez and Joigni were killed, or died of their wounds (6 April, 1362).¹ In the North the Breton Du Guesclin had distinguished himself by his activity in fighting the Companies; but it was not till the end of 1362 that he was able to rid Normandy of James Pipe.²

Trusty Seneschals had been appointed by Edward to rule the ceded provinces.³ But a Dominion of such extent could not be safely left in the hands of mere subjects. Perhaps Edward also thought that the attractions of a Provincial Court might mollify the hostility of his new subjects.

The Prince
in Aquitaine.

On the 19th July (1362) the Prince of Wales was invested with the Duchy of Aquitaine; all regalian rights over the old and new provinces were conferred upon him to their fullest extent, saving only the feudal superiority of the King of England, who reserved a special right to raise Aquitaine to the dignity of a kingdom, if he should think fit.⁴ In

¹ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 225.

² See Lavissee, IV. 162-165.

³ See Delpit, Documents Français, 86-121, and Vic et Vaissete, sup. These posts, however, were not all filled up till 1363.

⁴ Foed. III. 667-670. Shipping was immediately ordered for the Prince's voyage, but he did not sail till the spring of 1363; Id. 685; Murimuth, Cont. 197; he landed at La Rochelle and proceeded to Bordeaux by land, entering the city

contemplation of the establishment of the Prince as ruling Duke of Aquitaine Edward had thought fit to revive the old ties with Spain. On the 22nd June a treaty of defensive alliance was arranged with Pedro the Cruel of Castile and his son Alphonso ; the two crowns became bound to support each other 'as against all men who could live or die' excepting the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France.¹

On the 13th October a Parliament met at Westminster.² The proceedings were opened in the Painted Chamber by Henry Green, Chief Justice of England, who addressed the assembly in English,³ a memorable incident, foreshadowing an enactment of the same session. The King wanted a continuance of the subsidy on wool, and spoke of sending the wool Staple back again to Calais. This latter measure was suggested by way of enhancing prices, which were said to be low. He also invited the special attention of the Magnates to certain proposals recently put forward by the Scots.⁴ The Peers condemned the Scottish suggestions—whatever they may have been—while the Commons declined to sanction the transfer of the wool Staple. But they granted a subsidy, a reduced subsidy or surtax, for three years, namely 20s. on the sack of wool and 300 wool fells, and 40s. on the last of leather. But, as during the most, if not the whole of the reign, the King had been drawing these surtaxes at 40s. and 80s. respectively, the so-called "grant" was in fact a cutting down of the existing revenue for three years. Then, as if to ensure the permanence of the reduction, the King was made to give an explicit assent to a declaration that for the future no subsidy should be set on wool without the assent of Parliament.⁵ Within four months Edward found an excuse for breaking his word, as the very next Parliament had to complain.

Several other measures of interest were included in the statute passed by this Parliament. Another blow was

on the 11th June ; Eulog. Hist. III. 231. Between the 9th July 1363 and the 4th April 1364 he received the homages of 1,047 barons and gentlemen, representing every province from Poitou to Béarn ; Delpit, Documents Français, &c., 86-121.

¹ Foed. III. 606, 672, 687.

² Lords' Report.

³ "En Anglois."

⁴ See Foed. 645, 659.

⁵ Rot. Parl. II. 273.

struck at the custom of Purveyance; the right was to be exercised only on behalf of the households of the King or Queen; even the heinous name of 'Purveyor' was changed for that of 'Buyer'. Buyers were required to produce commissions under the Great Seal, renewable half-yearly, and all payments were to be made 'by ready money in hand'.¹ To remedy the 'dearness' of spiritual ministrations caused by the ravages of the pestilence, the archbishops agreed that no one should be allowed to give a parish priest more than six marks (£4) a year; chaunters of 'annuals', not having cure of souls, to be cut down to five marks (£3 6s. 8d.), or if boarded in the house to two marks (£1 6s. 8d.), "*Quod plures furari coegit!*"² Lastly—a praiseworthy effort was made to restore to the people the use of the native language in the law-courts. The reasons alleged for this wholesome reform were that French was then 'too little known in the realm';³ and that 'people who impleaded or were impleaded in the courts knew not what was said for or against them by their Serjeants or pleaders'; and, 'because in divers countries, where the King and other of the Realm had been, good governaunce and full right was done to every person, because their laws and customs were learned and used in the tongue of the country.' Thus it appears that one good outcome of Edward's foreign wars was to call the attention of his subjects to the anomalous position held by their mother tongue at home. But "use and wont" proved stronger than statute law, and French maintained its position as the language of the courts for some centuries; while for writs and records Latin was retained.

With regard to the development of the native tongue we would invite special attention to the fact that this first attempt to assert itself followed hard upon a period of continuous campaigning abroad, because on future occasions we shall find distinct stages in the evolution of modern

¹ For a proclamation giving effect to the new rules, see Foed. III. 686, 695.

² Statute, c. 9; Walsingham, I. 297. These regulations were ratified by Convocation, December 1363; Barnes, 363. A more creditable remedy for the same evil, also due to Archbishop Islip, was the foundation of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, the nucleus of Christ Church; Foed. 703.

³ "trop desconue."

English appearing after like periods of foreign warfare, the assimilation and absorption of the Romance elements being evidently due to the closer and more intimate relations between the French-speaking gentry and their native followers brought about by the rough *camaraderie* of the camp.

The session lasted till the 17th November, but the royal assent was given to the above measures on the 13th of the month, the King's fiftieth birthday. In honour of that day of Jubilee a charter of pardon for minor trespasses and misprisions was issued, and fresh honours accumulated on the heads of the King's sons. Lionel was created Duke of Clarence;¹ John created Duke of Lancaster; and Edmund Earl of Cambridge. Lionel was in Ireland; the other two received their charters and investiture at the hands of their Royal father; Edmund was presented with his sword, John with his sword and ducal cap.²

Courtly
honours.

The delivery of the first King's Speech in English, and the order for the resumption of the native tongue in the law-courts, mark the year 1362 as an epoch in the history of our language; the year is remarkable in the annals of our literature as that of the appearance of the first edition of the celebrated poem of William Langland or Langley, "The Vision Concerning Piers the Plowman," the Pilgrim's Progress of the age.

In spite of the opposition of the Commons³ the King held to his purpose of transferring the Staple to Calais.⁴ It was established there on the 1st March 1363. To regulate the course of trade there, and generally to govern the town and its inhabitants, a close corporation of twenty-six named men was embodied; with a common seal; the right to

¹ The title Clarence was a glorification of Clare, the family name of the Earls of Gloucester, part of whose inheritance was held by Lionel in right of his wife, Elisabeth de Burgh, granddaughter and heiress of Elisabeth of Clare, sister of Earl Gilbert III.

² "Une cappe fourrée, et desus un cercle d'or et de peres;" Rot. Parl. II. 268-273; Statutes, I. 371; Walsingham, I. 297.

³ Walsingham says "non obstante sacramento suo".

⁴ On the 29th September the exportation of wool had been forbidden, perhaps to put pressure on the Commons.

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purchase and hold land ; jurisdiction not only to hear and determine suits of debt, contract or account, according to law merchants, but also to hear and determine all cases of crime, felony or trespass, without appeal ; and, incidentally to receive all fines, amerciaments and issues of court, a franchise verging on a palatinate. They were further authorized to levy a surtax of 40 pence on the sack of wool, by way of market dues. Vacancies in the corporation to be filled by co-optation ; the mayor or mayors to be annually elected by themselves. For these privileges they were to pay the King a " ferm " of 500 marks (£333 6s. 8d.) a year. Practically, all articles of English growth or manufacture intended for export were required to be taken to Calais, except lead and tin, with a further exception in favour of the Gascons and Germans, who were allowed to ship cloth and herrings direct from English ports.¹ The considerations that weighed with the King for establishing the Staple out of England, now, as on previous occasions, were mainly political, the aim being to attach Calais to England by commercial ties ; but the petty rent may have had some influence too. The imposition of the illegal extra forty pence in the teeth of the recent enactment created great dissatisfaction ; and the extortions of the Merchants of the Staple, as the corporation was called, soon made the Calais market a scene of strife and confusion.² The opposition became such that within less than two years' time the monopoly had to be suppressed, and the system established by the Ordinance of 1353 revived, Calais being retained as the foreign Staple, with ten Staple towns for England, one for Wales, and three for Ireland. At Calais, with occasional intermissions, a Staple remained till the year of grace 1558.³

Parlia-
ment.

From the 6th to the 30th October another Parliament sat at Westminster. An ineffectual protest was made against the illegal surtax imposed at Calais, and the legis-

¹ Foed. III. 688-693, 698, 745.

² Foed. 723.

³ See the table, A. Jenckes, *Staple of England*, 79 (Philadelphia, 1908), and generally Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*.

lature had to content itself with efforts to keep down the prices of commodities, enhanced by war, pestilence, gales,¹ and floods. Trade regulations and sumptuary edicts were passed: maximum prices were fixed for poultry; merchants were restricted to dealings in one sort of merchandise; craftsmen to the exercise of one craft; and the competition of women was expressly encouraged. In the matter of dress, knights, esquires, clergymen, merchants, craftsmen and labourers, each in their several rank and station, had suitable apparel prescribed for them. The possession of £200 a year in land or rent gave the right to rank as a knight, £100 a year the right to rank as an esquire. A merchant worth £1,000 was on a level with the landowner of £200 a year. Men not worth forty shillings would rank as labourers. These were forbidden to wear anything but "blanket" or "russet", at 12*d.* the yard, with linen to correspond. Suitable attire is prescribed for the different classes up to £1,000 a year. Above that persons might dress as they pleased.²

With the period that we have reached—that of the long truce—a time of more friendly intercourse with Scotland has to be recorded. King David himself received invitations to visit England most years.³ The presence of Scottish envoys in London had always been a matter of common occurrence; but now we also find a readiness to encourage private intercourse. Scottish merchants; Scottish students; pilgrims to Canterbury; pilgrims to Walsingham; Crusaders bound for Prussia; all persons accredited by the Scottish government are free and welcome.⁴ Edward was making a fresh

Relations
with Scot-
land.

¹ A most destructive hurricane swept over these Islands on the evening of Saturday, 15th January 1362; Eulog. Hist. III. 229; "Piers Plowman," V. 14 (ed. Morris).

² See Rot. Parl. II. 275-282; Statutes, I. 378. For strictures on the extravagance and effeminacy of current fashions see Eulog. Hist. III. 230; cloaks either very loose and short, or down to the heels, with long sleeves (gouns); silken "paltoks", like cassocks; long pointed shoes, "crakows"; also derided in France as "poulaines"; De Nangis, III. Cont. 138.

³ See safe-conducts for the years 1362-1365. Foed. III. 645, 723, 765.

⁴ See Rotuli Scotiæ for these years, *passim*. Safe-conducts are made out in batches of ten, twenty, and fifty at a time.

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push for union with Scotland; and David was quite willing to play into his hands. He was childless; he hated the Stewarts, the heirs to his crown; and the payment of the ransom pinched him. Only two instalments of 10,000 marks had been paid,¹ and he might be summoned to return into captivity at any moment. Undeterred by a formidable rebellion that broke out against him David himself came to London in the autumn of 1363.² On the 27th November a secret conference was held at Westminster in the presence of the two Kings; and a Minute was drawn up recording a proposal for the union of the two crowns at the death of David, if he should die without issue.³ The suggestion was that the Scottish Estates (*Communaltes*) should agree to take the then King of England, whoever he might be, as their King. David undertook to lay the thing before his Parliament, and Edward made most liberal offers: he would forgo the unpaid balance of ransom, restore the old boundaries of Scotland, settle the troublesome demands of the "Disinherited Barons", which had not yet been finally disposed of; Scotland would be allowed to retain her own Parliament, her own laws and taxation, her own administration; every guarantee was offered and every inducement held out. And, without doubt, the arrangement would have been most favourable to Scotland if the Scots could have been induced to listen to such a proposal—and if any means could have been devised for securing observance of the compact.⁴ Sensible, however, that the chances of the acceptance of such a scheme were small, the English negotiators put forward a secondary plan, of a more covert character, by which the Scots would be

¹ See Acts Parlt. Scotland, I. 496; cf. Exchequer Rolls Scotland, II. xlii; Foed. III. 397, 453, 465. The payment of a third instalment, apparently, is noticed at p. 500 of Foed., but the records of the Scottish Parliaments prove that no third instalment had yet been paid.

² Rot. Scot. I. 872; Exchequer Rolls, sup. 184.

³ The scheme was carefully put as a mere open proposal, "non pas comme de chose profferte, assentue ne affermée dune part ne dautre . . . mais comme de chose touchée," &c. David had lost his wife Joan in the previous September (Eulog.), but was now married to Margaret Drummond (Hailes).

⁴ Foed. 715.

asked to elect as heir to their crown the eldest of the King's sons who should not be 'heir apparent' to the crown of England.¹ Early in 1364 David returned to Scotland; held a Parliament at Scone on the 4th March; and propounded his scheme. The three Estates answered with one voice that for the sake of peace they would make any sacrifices consistent with the honour and integrity of Scotland, but that the King's proposals could not be entertained for one moment.²

It was impossible for the Scots to forget the Treaty of Brigham and what became of it. But for all that they were not insensible to the benefits of peace with England, and they were prepared to show their appreciation of it by paying liberally for it. They offered to forfeit the 20,000 marks already paid on account of David's ransom, and to execute a fresh treaty by which they would purchase a truce for five-and-twenty years for the sum of £100,000.³ The offer was practically accepted, payment to be made by annual instalments of £4,000; but the truce in the first instance was only signed for four years, to run from the 2nd February 1366, the existing truce, signed in October 1357, being carried on to that date.⁴

A long
truce.

Three years and three months had not yet run from the time when King John had recovered his long wished for liberty, when he resolved to place himself once more in Edward's hands. Opinion as to the motives of a man so shallow and light-hearted as *Jean le Bon* was naturally much divided. He had taken on himself the payment of the balance of the Burgundy ransom, left owing at the death of Duke Philip of Rouvre (21 November 1361);⁵ but his

*Jean le
Bon.*

¹ Printed in Acts of Parliament of Scotland, I. 94. The document is undated, but the language of the Scotchchronicon seems to identify this proposal with the one laid before the Scots Parliament in 1364, inf.

² Acts of Parliament of Scotland, I. 93; Scotchchr. II. 366.

³ 13 January 1365; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, I. 495.

⁴ London, 20 May, 1365; Foed. III. 766, 770.

⁵ Philip having left neither child nor any near relative, King John laid claim to the duchy, and gave it to his son Philip the Bold, ignoring the claims of the King of Navarre, a fresh ground of war with Charles; Lavissee, IV. 167. Only 10,000 crowns of the Burgundy debt still remained due, and that was paid up in March 1364; Foed. 727.

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OWN ransom was in hopeless arrear. Little more than the first instalment had been paid; nearly 1,700,000 *écus* were owing.¹ Another point touched John's knightly sense of honour still more keenly. In November 1362 Edward had agreed to liberate the four French Princes of the Blood, or *Seigneurs des Fleurs de Lys*, on further pecuniary and territorial conditions disastrous to France.² Pending the satisfaction of these requirements they were allowed to live easy lives at Calais on parole. The Duke of Anjou, John's second son, took advantage of an opportunity to escape to Boulogne, and refused to return. John was deeply mortified by his son's conduct, and declared that he himself was bound to make amends to Edward. Some even thought that a Crusading project entered into John's inducements to visit England. Late in 1362 he had gone to Avignon to pay his respects to the new Pope, Urban V.³ Staying on at Avignon over the winter, in March 1363 he came into contact with Peter of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, who enlisted him for a Crusade on behalf of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. A wilder or more unseasonable project was never started; but John persuaded himself that it might prove a means of ridding France of the Companies. It was said that he had undertaken to canvass the King of England on the subject.⁴ Those who took the least favourable view of the King's character declared that he was hankering after the flesh-pots of Egypt,⁵ the squalor

¹ 400,000 crowns had been paid at Calais in October 1360. Early in 1361 Edward signed receipts for 200,000 crowns, only 160,000 apparently having been paid; Foed. III. 598. In May 1362 an instalment of 200,000 was paid; but 90,000 crowns of this was taken out of a subsidy voted by the English clergy for the Pope; Id. 647, 714; Wake. In February 1364 a final instalment of 107,000 crowns was paid, Id. 721, and there the payments ended.

² See the treaty, Foed. III. 681, 695, 700.

³ Innocent VI died 12 September 1362. After some delay the Cardinals elected another Frenchman, the sixth in succession, and a Benedictine, Guillaume Abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles; he took the style of Urban V and was consecrated and crowned on the 6th November; H. Nicolas; Froissart, I. 461, note.

⁴ Froissart, 461, 464; Sismondi, X. 597. On Good Friday, 31st March 1363, Urban preached the Crusade, and John and his barons took the Cross; Grandes Chroniques.

⁵ "Joci causa;" De Nangis, Cont. III. 131.

and misery of France being intolerable after the gay luxury of the English Court. Lastly we might suggest that John had an inkling that he might with advantage leave the work of governing to his son. Whatever his motives, in defiance of all opposition, John appointed the Dauphin Regent and crossed the Channel. On the 4th January 1364 he landed at Dover.¹ Edward gave him a magnificent reception. The King of Cyprus had come over before him; the King of Scots had not yet gone home. Such a concourse of Royalties gave every excuse for feasts and shows and gorgeous hospitality, all to console John for his return to nominal captivity.² He was again established in the Savoy, and there he died on Monday 8th April:³ 4,000 torches and 4,000 wax tapers were lighted at the obsequies at St. Paul's.⁴ Edward had the remains conveyed in state at his expense to Dover; there they were received by the French; on Tuesday 7th May they were finally buried at Saint-Denis.⁵

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Back in
England.

Dies.

¹ Grandes Chroniques.

² Knighton, 2627; Eulog. III. 233. A fifth King, Waldemar III of Denmark, came to England a little later.

³ Id., and Grandes Chroniques, VI. 229.

⁴ De Nangis, Cont. III. 133.

⁵ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 231.

CHAPTER XXVII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1364–1366

End of the Breton War of Succession.—Battles of Cocherel and Auray.—Triumph of Jean de Montfort.—Settlement between France and Navarre.—Parliaments.—Provisors and Praemunire.—John Wycliffe and the Papacy.

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War in
Brittany.

THE death of King John sounded the knell of the treaty of Brétigny. Ere the breath had left his body his son the Dauphin-Regent had commissioned Bertrand Du Guesclin to attack the Norman strongholds of the King of Navarre. The reputed scion of a gentle house of modest means, Du Guesclin was in manners and outward appearance a very peasant, short, stout, coarse-featured, unscrupulous, and illiterate. But he was endowed with marvellous strength and courage, and had an instinct amounting to genius for the ruses and tricks of mediaeval war. Hitherto, among the French, war had been the sport of the noble. Du Guesclin made it a business in which success justified all expedients.¹ He taught his countrymen to adopt from the English that determined style of fighting which more than a century later amazed and shocked the Italians, when they came into collision with the fighting men of Charles VIII.² Du Guesclin had learned the art of war in Brittany as a staunch follower of the House of Blois. He had first risen into notice during the siege of Rennes (1356–7). Two years later he caught the eye of the Dauphin during a siege of Melun, his first service under the French flag.³ In 1361 he was allowed to visit England as the confidential agent of the hostage Princes.⁴ In his present undertaking he proved eminently successful; he recovered Mantes and Meulan

¹ See Sismondi, X. 504; Martin, V. 243; Lavissee, IV. 172.

² Kitchin, I. 456.

³ Froissart, I. 471, note.

⁴ Foed. III. 599.

by stratagem, 'which might be designated as treachery.' The inhabitants were slaughtered without mercy, but the free navigation of the Seine was secured.¹

Within a week of these events the Captal de Buch landed at Cherbourg with reinforcements from Navarre.² Troops were speedily sent from Paris to Du Guesclin at Rouen, while de Grailly enlisted the services of John Jewel and a band of English adventurers established at Rolleboise.³ On Thursday the 16th May the two forces met in pitched battle on the plain of Cocherel.⁴ After an obstinate fight Du Guesclin won the day by a flank manœuvre. Jewel was killed and the Captal taken.⁵ The news of this success, the most important yet achieved by the French since the beginning of the war, reached Reims just in time to shed a ray of hopeful light on the coronation of Charles V. On Trinity Sunday (19th May)⁶ the rite was duly performed, and the new King as his first act conferred the county of Longueville, vacant by the death of Philip of Navarre, upon the victorious Du Guesclin.⁷

The negotiations between the two competitors for the Ducal throne had come to nothing. Charles in 1363 had signed a treaty of partition (Evrans, 12th July), but his ambitious wife, Jeanne de Penthievre, refused to share her inheritance with de Montfort.⁸ As the French sent succour to the one side, the English were at liberty to support the other side. Accordingly John Chandos was sent to the rescue, with a powerful following, which included Robert Knolles, Hugh Calverley, Eustache d'Aubrecicourt and Walter Hewit. On Sunday, Michaelmas Day (29 September), the two armies joined battle outside Auray.⁹ The star of England was once more in the ascendant: the French party

¹ Froissart, I. 471, note.

² Froissart, 473; De Nangis, Cont. III. 133; Sismondi, XI. 8.

³ Seine-et-Oise, near Bonnières.

⁴ Seine-et-Marne, near Château-Thierry.

⁵ De Nangis, Cont. sup.; Froissart, 475-482; Eulog.; Grandes Chroniques. See also Lavis, IV. 173. There were Gascons fighting on each side.

⁶ Id.

⁷ Froissart, 483 and note.

⁸ Lobineau, I. 362; Sismondi, 18; Froissart, 490.

⁹ Morbihan.

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were completely beaten; Charles of Blois was slain, and Du Guesclin taken. Chandos had chosen a defensive position, on an eminence, now occupied by a Carthusian church, leaving the offensive to the French, and allowing them to ford the river Loch in front of him without opposition. The victory apparently was due, partly to the advantage of the ground, partly to the superior discipline of the English, partly to the services of a supernumerary body under Calverley, who moved along the rear, setting fallen men upon their feet again, sending them in to continue the struggle, and generally giving support wherever it was needed. All being on foot and fully armed, the archer fire counted for little.¹

The Duke of Anjou, who was married to a daughter of Blois, would fain have carried on the struggle. Charles V knew better. Accepting the verdict of the day of Auray, he offered to recognize de Montfort as Duke.² Jeanne of Penthièvre was forced to accept of a pension; on the 12th April 1365 the treaty of Guérande was signed; de Montfort ascended the ducal throne as John IV, *Jean le Conquérant*, and the civil war that had wasted Brittany for five-and-twenty years was brought to a close.³

About the same time Charles V had the good fortune to get rid of another thorn in his side, Charles the Bad. Hemmed in at home between Peter the Cruel of Castile and Peter IV 'the Ceremonious' of Arragon—"two of the most perfidious and ferocious monarchs that ever graced a throne"—the King of Navarre found himself helpless to prosecute his quarrels with the King of France. Invoking once more the mediation of the two Queens-dowager of France—Jeanne his aunt and Blanche his sister⁴—Charles placed his interests in the hands of the Captal. On the 6th March 1365 the treaty was signed in Paris. Navarre

¹ See the long story, Froissart, I. 489-497; De Nangis, Cont. III. 135; and La Borderie, III. 584.

² See a virtual recognition dated 3rd November 1364; Foed. III. 753.

³ See Lobineau, I. 378, &c.; Sismondi, XI. 24; De Nangis, Cont. III. 136; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 236; Froissart, 498-501.

⁴ Widows respectively of Charles IV and Philip VI (Valois).

abandoned the lost lordships of Mantes, Meulan and Longueville; receiving in exchange the far-off border town of Montpellier; his claims on Burgundy and the crown of France were reserved for the arbitration of the Pope.¹

The Navarrese and Breton difficulties were thus disposed of; a sensible relief; but the supreme evil of the Companies while decreasing still remained. Loud complaints were raised in France of the conduct of the King of England, who had taken no effectual steps for relieving France of this incubus.² On the other hand Charles V had again shown his contempt for the treaty of Brétigny by appointing the Duke of Anjou Lieutenant-General of Languedoc. Edward protested, insisting on the return of the forsworn Duke into captivity. To clear his right to make this demand he had at last issued tardy orders to all his subjects, requiring them to leave the dominions of the King of France.³

On the 20th January 1365 a Parliament met at Westminster.⁴ On the morrow the proceedings were opened in the Painted Chamber, by the Chancellor Simon Langham, Bishop of Ely,⁵ who addressed the Estates in French; the proceedings, however, being entered in English. The Bishop took as his text a passage from the Psalms, 'Justice and Judgement adorn the King's throne.'⁶ This was meant as an indication of the special points to which the King desired to call the attention of the assembly; those points being the continued exercise of jurisdiction by the Papal court over English subjects; and the continued invasion by the Papacy of English rights of patronage. The King's views were afterwards more fully expounded, first to the Peers, and then to the Commons in the White Chamber: the

¹ Sismondi, XI. 26; Froissart, I. 501 and note; De Nangis, Cont. III. 138; Grandes Chroniques.

² Froissart, I. 502; cf. De Nangis, Cont. 138.

³ November-December 1364; Foed. III. 754, 755; Delpit, Documents Français, 121.

⁴ Lords' Report.

⁵ Consecrated 20 March 1362, Reg. Sacr.

⁶ "Verroi Justice et droiturel Juggement aournent e See du Roi;" Ps. lxxxix. 14.

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result was a Statute expressly confirming the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Praemunire* of the 25th and 27th years. Any persons procuring or purchasing from the court of Rome any personal citation against the King, or any of his subjects, or purchasing or procuring any preferment in derogation of the rights of any lay or spiritual patron, was declared 'out of the King's protection'. The prelates gave their assent, 'saving the rights of their Order'; a reservation already expressed in the body of the act. It is curious to notice that the measure is expressed to be passed in the interests of the Holy Father himself, and to protect him from the mischievous suggestions of interested advisers. We need not again remark that the King himself figured prominently in the condemned category. At the request of the Commons the monopoly of the Calais Staple was suspended, as already mentioned, and the Staple arrangements of the year 1353 were restored with some modifications. The sumptuary and mercantile regulations of 1363 were also repealed; the public being left free to deal in such goods, and wear such clothes and ornaments, as they should think fit.¹ In return the subsidies on wool and leather were renewed for three years at the old rates, namely 40 shillings on the sack of wool, and 80 shillings on the last of leather.²

The Commons were not lacking in common sense, if only they had enjoyed greater power of giving effect to their views. On the 12th May 1366 Parliament again met at Westminster.³ Resistance to Rome was again the order of the day. Urban V had taken alarm at the Statute of the previous year, which he regarded as "a declaration of war". By way of retaliation he had issued a formal demand for the arrears of the Papal rent, threatening to take proceed-

¹ Rot. Parl. II. 283; 38 Edw. III. st. 2; Statutes, I. 385; cf. 25 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 22, and 27 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 1.

² See 38 Edw. III. st. 2, cc. 2, 6, 7; Statutes, I. 383; Rot. Parl. II. 285, &c.; English merchants were again forbidden to export wool, but not under penalty of death, as in 1353; "a fact almost impossible to believe were it not beyond doubt;" Longman, II. 84.

³ Lords' Report.

ings in his own courts.¹ Edward laid the matter before the Peers, who took a day to deliberate. On the morrow the Lords Spiritual and Temporal answered that neither John nor any other person could place the realm under such subjection without their assent. The Commons concurred, and a formal declaration was drawn up to the effect that John's act was against the tenor of his coronation oath, and that if the Pope attempted to enforce his claim by process of law, or otherwise, the Lay Estates would join in resisting him to the utmost.² "This solemn declaration set the question at rest for ever."³ "Even Peter's pence, the old Romescot, which dated from the days of Offa and Ethelwulf, was withheld for a time."⁴

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Parliament.

By a significant coincidence the Parliament that rejected the Papal rent-charge introduces JOHN WYCLIFFE on the stage of English history, and in connexion with this very matter. Ex-Master of Balliol Hall,⁵ Warden of the recently founded Canterbury Hall at Oxford,⁶ and apparently a Royal Chaplain,⁷ Wycliffe doubtless attended the Parliament in connexion with the quarrel between the University and the Mendicant Orders that had been brought before the King in Parliament.⁸ A nameless monk having subsequently questioned the right of Parliament to reject the Papal claim, and having specially challenged Wycliffe to justify the action of Parliament, Wycliffe took up the gauntlet,

John Wycliffe.

¹ The Pope's demand was dated 13th June 1365; Barnes, 667, citing Rainaldus; the last payment was alleged to have been made on the 7th July 1333; Id. The last payment noticed in Foedera was on the 28th April 1330, when the rent (1,000 marks per annum) was stated to be thirty-three years in arrear.

² Rot. Parl. II. 290.

³ Lingard.

⁴ Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 435; Barnes, 670.

⁵ See Fasciculus Zizaniorum, xiv (W. W. Shirley, Rolls Series, No. 5), and Lorimer's Wycliffe, I. 157.

⁶ Appointed by Archbishop Islip, the founder, 9th December 1365; Fasc. Ziz. 515, 517, 518; Lewis's Wycliffe, 9-15; Chron. Angliae, 115. Wycliffe was deprived of Canterbury Hall by Archbishop Langham. The Reformer must be distinguished from John Wycliffe of Merton, vicar of Mayfield and strictly orthodox. Canon Shirley identified this man with the Warden of Canterbury, but that seems clearly wrong.

⁷ He styles himself "peculiaris Regis clericus" in connexion with the proceedings in this Parliament; Lewis, 349.

⁸ Rot. Parl. 290.

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and very subtly and ingeniously published his defence of the national rights in the shape of a pretended report of speeches that he alleged to have heard delivered by seven lay Lords in Parliament. The arguments boldly traverse the temporal authority of the Pope, and, virtually, his infallibility in matters spiritual.¹ To have given such views as expressly his own would have brought Wycliffe into trouble; but the fact that such a challenge had been addressed to him clearly shows that he was already known as an opponent of Papal pretensions. At the same time it does not appear that in his theological teaching he had as yet passed the limits of the strict orthodoxy of the day.²

A few days before the Parliament met Simon of Islip had passed away, an old man and paralytic (26th April 1366).³ The Canterbury monks then postulated William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, but he declined the nomination. The Pope then, at the King's request, translated the Chancellor, Simon Langham, Bishop of Ely, a man of high character and a reformer. On the 5th November he was admitted by the King to his temporalities, after renouncing anything in the Papal Bulls 'prejudicial' to the Royal prerogative.⁴

¹ "Cum Christus sit Dominus capitalis et Papa peccabilis, qui dum fuerit in peccato mortali secundum theologos caret dominio," &c. This is the foundation of the famous doctrine that dominion is founded on grace. See the tract, Lewis, 349, 354; Lechler, Wiclif, I. 322 (Leipzig, 1873).

² On this point see Fasc. Ziz. xv.

³ Angl. Sacr. I. 46; Reg. Sacr.

⁴ Angl. Sacr. sup. Langham, however, was not enthroned till the 25th March 1367.

CHAPTER XXVIII

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A. D. 1365-1369

Spanish affairs.—Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamare.—Invasion of Castile by the Prince of Wales on behalf of Pedro.—Campaign and Battle of Najera.—End of Pedro.

ASSUREDLY the good King Edward and his sons had the love of war deeply seated in their hearts. Six years of peaceful rest had not passed over their heads when an opportunity for further adventure offered itself, and was eagerly seized.

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Pedro, known in history as the Cruel, and, if remorseless shedding of blood be cruelty, justly so called, ascended the throne of Leon and Castile at the age of fifteen, at the death of his father Alphonso XI in 1350.¹ The first life taken by or in the name of the young Pedro was that of his father's mistress, Leonora de Guzman. For sixteen years her position at the Spanish court had been a standing insult to Pedro's mother Maria of Portugal.² Leonora's numerous offspring, headed by the spirited Don Enrique, Count of Trastamare, were the objects of Pedro's deadliest jealousy.³ In 1353 Pedro married Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon who fell at Poitiers, and sister of Jeanne, the wife of Charles V of France. Two days after the marriage Pedro discarded his wife for the more congenial society of Maria de Padilla.⁴ After languishing in prison for some years

Spanish
affairs.

¹ See Pedro Lopez de Ayala, I. 9-11 (Madrid, 1779, with Zurita's notes); Mariana, *De Rebus Hispanicis* (Toledo, 1592). The facts of Pedro's life, no doubt, are chiefly known "from the pen of his inveterate enemy, Ayala".

² In negotiations for the marriage of the Lady Joan to Pedro in 1345 Edward addressed special letters to 'the noble lady Leonora, concubine of the King of Spain', but none to Queen Maria; Foed. II. 46, 59.

³ Ayala, p. 36; Sismondi, XI. 38; Mariana, 76, 77.

⁴ Monday, 3rd June, to Wednesday, 5th June, 1353; Ayala, 94, 95; Maria de Padilla is described as small, clever, and pretty, 84; "muy hermosa, é de buen entendimiento é pequeña de cuerpo."

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the hapless Blanche was removed by poison in 1361.¹ Maria de Padilla having survived her by a year, Pedro declared that he had been lawfully married to her, and proclaimed her son Alphonso his heir;² this was the Alphonso recognized by Edward in the treaty of 1362. Charles V and the Bourbon connexion were burning to avenge the wrongs of their kinswoman. In 1365, after the settlement of affairs in Brittany and Navarre, a plan was arranged for getting rid of the Companies by sending them into Castile, to avenge the family insult, and harass the ally of the King of England—a triple stroke of policy. The scheme found favour at Avignon, where Pedro was in bad odour.³ Du Guesclin was announced as the leader of the expedition, and to set him free 40,000 *francs d'or* were paid to John Chandos.⁴ The adventurers “flocked like vultures” to the standard of du Guesclin: Hugh Calverley, Walter Hewit, Matthew Gurney⁵ joined the French camp. From Châlons-sur-Saône the force marched to Avignon; absolution from their sins was the first demand; 200,000 crowns the next. The Pope remonstrated. “But it was ill arguing with Free Lances.” Urban paid the money and reimbursed himself by a tax on the French clergy.⁶ Edward issued a peremptory order forbidding any of his subjects to bear arms against the King of Castile,⁷ but the prohibition came too late. The army held on its way, and, marching through Catalonia, reached Barcelona on the 1st January 1366. There Henry of Trastamare joined them, and, Arragon still opening the way for them, they crossed the Ebro into Castile at Alfaro. On the 16th March Calahorra received Don Henry, and proclaimed him King.

¹ Ayala, I. 328; Froissart, I. 503, note Buchon.

² Ayala, 349; Mariana, 104.

³ Froissart, 504; Knighton, 2629. The idea of sending off the Companies with Henry of Trastamare was started in 1362; see Vic et Vaissette, IV. 316, 329.

⁴ Trésor des Chartes, 303; Lingard. The money was found by Charles V, Urban, and Don Henry; Id.

⁵ This Gurney was the fourth son of the murderer of Edward II. See Coxe, note to Chandos Herald, 375.

⁶ Froissart, sup. and note; Sismondi, XI. 40; citing Vic et Vaissette, IV. 329; Vitae Rom. Pontt. 632; Kitchin. ⁷ 6th December 1365; Foed. III. 779.

Pedro was at Burgos; losing heart, on the 28th March he fled to Andalusia. On Easter Day (5th April) the Count of Trastamare was crowned King of Castile at Las Huelgas, near Burgos, under the style of Henry II.¹ This remarkable revolution was the sole work of the Castilian people; the foreigners gave them no help "beyond the mere fact of their presence". The dethroned monarch found no greater support among his southern subjects; he applied to Portugal. Pedro the Justiciar declined to see him, but allowed him to make his way round through his dominions into Galicia. The murder of an archbishop and a dean soon raised the western provinces against Pedro. Setting sail from Corunna with his three daughters Beatrice, Costanza, and Isabel, he found at last a refuge and a welcome at Bayonne.² Pedro had not failed to sound the ground beforehand; he had promptly applied to the Prince not merely for hospitality, but for active support in the field, asking to be reinstated. Of course he could appeal to the treaty of 1362. Parchment obligations might weigh somewhat with the Prince, and something might be said for the policy of securing an ally in Castile; but we take it that in the Prince's view of the obligations of chivalry, a call to reinstate a crowned anointed monarch, dispossessed by a bastard upstart and a popular movement, would seem an appeal to the highest sense of duty; the wish to thwart a scheme favoured by France would be a further incentive. Altogether the undertaking was one on which he could embark with all his heart. His best advisers, Chandos and Thomas Felton, the Seneschal of Aquitaine, protested as openly as they dared in a Provincial Parliament against the wild scheme, so did the Gascon gentry when consulted; but the Prince would not listen to reason.³ The matter was referred to London, and the Prince's purpose approved of both by his Royal father and his ambitious brother John of Gaunt, who proposed to join him. The

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Enrique of
Trastamare pro-
claimed.

Pedro in
exile.

¹ Ayala, I. 402-409; Froissart, I. 506, note; du Guesclin was made Count of Trastamare and Hugh Calverley Count of Carrion.

² Ayala, 412-420, 430; Mariana, 811-816; Chandos Herald, 154; Froissart, 509.

³ Froissart, 507-511; Chandos Herald, 148, 150.

CH. XXVIII new Duke of Lancaster was beginning to take an active
 1366 part in public affairs. Men were at once ordered for active service in Aquitaine, the writs apparently being issued before ever Pedro had landed.¹

The first point urged upon the Prince in connexion with the proposed expedition was the necessity of securing the King of Navarre, who held the keys of the Pyrenean "Ports."² The Prince took Charles to Bayonne to meet the exiled King. Pedro having lost all was ready to promise anything. To the King of Navarre he offered the provinces of Guipuzcoa and Alava, with the Castilian towns of Logroño, Calahorra, Alfaro and Tudela—also 180,000 gold florins (£60,000), besides the wages of 2,000 men, half horse and half foot, for two months. But as the King had no money the zealous Prince agreed to find 20,000 florins at once, besides the wages of the 2,000 men for one month.³ The Royal party then adjourned to Bordeaux, and the treaty was ratified, the Prince receiving for himself the promise of Biscay, with 550,000 florins for the maintenance of himself and his following for six months.⁴

Succour
for Pedro.

The Duke of Lancaster was placed in command of the reinforcements for his brother, on condition of paying his own expenses. Sailing about the end of the year he landed in Brittany, and from thence made his way by land, finally entering Bordeaux on the 13th January 1367.⁵ His force is given as 400 men-at-arms and as many archers.⁶

¹ July, Foed. III. 797, a call for 940 horse-archers. In August 800 such were ordered to serve under John of Gaunt at his expense; p. 799. The date of Pedro's landing at Bayonne does not appear.

² The local term for the passes; Chandos Herald, sup.

³ September? See the preliminary treaty in Spanish, executed at Bayonne, but without date; Foed. 800; on the 5th September Charles the Bad had appointed commissioners at "Bastelle", La Bastide, near Bayonne; Id. 802.

⁴ Libourne, 23rd September; Foed. 802, &c.; Ayala, I. 433. The Duke of Lancaster appears as a signatory, but I think that his name found its way in when the treaties were re-ratified on the 11th February 1367. Lancaster was in England on the 20th October (Foed.), and 5th November (Delpit, Documents Français, 124), raising money for the campaign.

⁵ Froissart, I. 521; Chandos Herald, 167-171; cf. Foed. 809-812.

⁶ So Froissart, 519; for once giving a total that seems acceptable. The Chron. de Flandres II. 102 has 600 archers; Armitage Smith, "John of Gaunt," 43.

The Prince's ranks were quickly filled. At his beck the Free Lances threw up their commands under Enrique, and flocked to his standard, the standard of their natural chief. The lawless camp was established round Dax, a grievous burden to the country, adding greatly to the unpopularity of the Prince's rough military government, already little loved.¹ The Prince soon found that he had more men than he wanted. The contingent singled out for reduction was that of the Sire d'Albret, who in a very spirited manner had undertaken to raise 1,000 lances at his own cost. At the last moment he was told that he need not bring more than 200 lances.² D'Albret was much affronted, and wrote a pretty strong letter to the Prince, who in return cursed his presumption in pretty plain English. The quarrel was patched up for the moment, but the jar now created between the English and the Gascon parties was afterwards held one of the distinct causes of the loss of the Province.³ On the 6th January the Princess of Wales gave birth to her second son, Richard of Bordeaux, the future Richard II. That event safely over the Prince advanced to Dax, where Lancaster and the home contingent joined him.⁴

With regard to the strength of his army, the only official datum that we have to set against the wild figures of the chroniclers, accepted with too great readiness by modern writers, is the fact that the force agreed upon between the Prince, Pedro and Charles of Navarre, as sufficient for the purpose in hand, was just 2,000 lances, half mounted and half on foot, partly Free Lances and partly Gascons, as we

¹ Froissart, I. 506, 513, 514, 520; Chandos Herald, 155-161; see also Vic et Vaissete, IV. 331. In May 1365 we had Edward writing to the Prince on the subject of the increase of crime and delays of justice in Aquitaine, authorizing him to appoint judges, and begging him to court legitimate popularity by attending to the administration of justice; Foed. III. 766.

² The figures are only Froissart's, of course.

³ Froissart, 520, 521. He was at Bordeaux at the time. "Car le prince étoit grand et haut de courage et cruel en son air, et vouloit, fût à tort ou à droit, que tous seigneurs auxquels pouvait commander tinssent de lui." Note that the writer expressly states that the Prince spoke in English.

⁴ Froissart, 521; Chandos Herald, 166, &c.; Barnes, 696, from a C.C.C.C. MS. The Prince left Bordeaux 10th January.

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1367 may suppose. In our opinion 2,000 Free Lances well led would be an army in itself. But Lancaster's 800 men must, of course, be added; with, presumably, some further contingent of footmen, making, say, 3,000-3,500 men in all. The Castilian army must have been stronger in numbers than the invaders could be; but their leading authority, who was present, only claims for his side 4,500 really effective men, for cavalry and infantry combined. To the Prince's men, such odds would be of no account.

But the question still remained whether after all the slippery *Charles le Mauvais* would give the Prince a passage through his dominions. Don Enrique had opened communications with him, and persuaded him to close the all-important "port" of Roncesvalles against the invaders.¹ While the troops were waiting, in weary uncertainty, word was brought that Calverley had seized Miranda and Puente-la-Reyna, on the river Arga, in the heart of Navarre. Sir Hugh had not thrown up his engagement to the King of Castile till he was satisfied that the English were really coming. The appearance of this dread freebooter with 400 veteran lances created a mighty stir in the little kingdom of Navarre. Charles wrote to demand explanations; the Prince answered him very curtly, telling him to explain his own conduct, and taxing him with treachery. Charles smothered his wrath, and consented to meet the Prince at Peyrehorade on the Gave de Pau. On Thursday the 11th February the treaties were re-sealed.²

Invasion
of Castile.

Four days later the Prince's army began its march through the romantic gorges of Roncesvalles. The cold was intense, and the army suffered cruelly from wind and snow and hail.

"Puis qe Dieux le droturer
Suffri mort pur nous en la crois
Ne fuist passage si estrois."³

¹ Ayala, I. 434; Froissart, I. 522.

² Froissart, sup.; Chandos Herald, 174; Ayala, 437; Foed. III. 804, 806.

³ Chandos Herald, 182. The writer may have been present, but there is not a suggestion of it in his narrative, which follows Froissart as closely as possible. The names of men engaged, however, differ somewhat.

Marching by divisions on successive days, by the end of the week the whole army found itself in the valley of Pampeluna.¹

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Enrique on hearing of the movements of the invaders had left Burgos, to concentrate at San Domingo de la Calzada, on the road by which the Prince might be expected to advance from Pampeluna, namely by Estella and the bridge of the Ebro at Logroño. By the King's biographer, who carried his standard, we are told that the fighting power of his army was represented by 4,500 men-at-arms.²

The Prince remained some days at Pampeluna to locate the enemy and arrange his plans. Unprepared to cross the Ebro at Logroño in face of the enemy, he turned westwards by Alsasua across the Pass of Arruiz³ to Salvatierra, making for Burgos by the alternative road by Vittoria and Miranda, on the upper Ebro. Salvatierra offered no resistance, opening its gates to Don Pedro: he would have rewarded the inhabitants by putting them all to death if the English had allowed him to have his own way.⁴

Du Guesclin and the Marshal d'Audrehem, who were both with Enrique, had urged him in the strongest manner not to risk an engagement with the Prince's troops, the pick and flower of the chivalry of all Christendom: ⁵ they had fortified their advice with messages from the sagacious King of France, who assured him that the English would soon tire of Spanish fare. But the Castilian lords thought that an appearance of timidity would be very prejudicial to Enrique's cause, and that the well-disposed population must be protected from Pedro's vengeance. Acting to a certain extent on this view, with political as well as military considerations before him, Enrique broke up from San Domingo as soon as he heard that the English were

¹ Froissart, I. 523, 524; followed by Chandos Herald, who doubles his estimates of the numbers, and misquotes the date. See Ayala, I. 438, 442. A document cited in a note to the last proves that the passage took more than the three days allotted to it by the others, as Pedro had not yet crossed on the 19th February.

² Ayala, 442.

³ "Le Pas de Sarris;" Froissart.

⁴ Froissart, sup.; Chandos Herald, 198, 200; Barnes.

⁵ "La flor de la caballeria de la christiandad . . . del mundo."

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entering Castile, crossed the Ebro, and established himself in a strong hilly position at Añastro near Treviño, some ten miles to the South of Vittoria,¹ blocking that road to Burgos. When the Prince heard that the enemy had crossed the Ebro he advanced from Salvatierra to Vittoria; but Enrique was content to remain on the defensive, so long as the English staid where they were. The Spanish skirmishers, however, were very active, and one morning they surprised and overwhelmed an outpost of 200 men-at-arms under Felton the Seneschal of Gascony.² The English were soon in straits for want of provisions; a loaf cost a florin, and not a big loaf either.

“ Car maint y ot par Seint Martin
Qui n'avoient ne pain ne vin.”

On Monday 28th March the Prince moved his camp, to get into better quarters, and if possible bring the enemy to action. Inclining south-eastwards towards the Navarrese frontier he skirted the Spanish position at a safe distance, and, crossing over some high ground near La Guardia, came down upon Viana; there he halted two days; on the 31st March he crossed the Ebro by the bridge at Logroño, and established himself comfortably at Navarette, among orchards and oliveyards.³ Don Enrique immediately executed a corresponding movement; leaving the heights of Añastro and Zaldiaran, he crossed the Ebro at San Vincente, and again threw himself across the line of the Prince's advance on Burgos, establishing himself at Najera, about six miles from Navarette, with the river Najarilla between him and the English.⁴

To goad the foe to action the Prince now aimed a cunning shaft at the Castilian pride of the Don. On the 1st of April he addressed a letter to the noble Prince, “ Don Enrique Conde de Trastamara ”; informing him that he, Edward,

¹ Ayala, I. 439, 443.

² Froissart, I. 527-530; Chandos Herald, 202, 204-228; Ayala, 445, 447.

³ Chandos Herald, 228, 230; Froissart,

⁴ Id.; Ayala, 448.

was come to replace his friend and ally King Pedro on his throne ; expressing astonishment that the son of a King should have been guilty of such a shameful act as rebellion against his lawful lord ; and offering mediation between the brothers to save the shedding of Christian blood. Enrique answered that Pedro was a tyrant dethroned for his crimes ; the wonder was that he had been endured so long ; but the voice of God and of the people of Leon and Castile had declared against him ; he, Enrique, as a duly elected king, would defend the realms entrusted to his charge, against all men, as in duty bound (2nd April).¹ After such an interchange there could be no thought of anything but war ; both armies prepared for battle on the morrow. In the excitement of the moment Enrique threw all prudential considerations to the winds, and, to the dismay of his best advisers, insisted upon taking his army across the Najarilla to engage the Prince 'on a fair field without advantage'.² To meet the English dismounted men-at-arms he placed his French auxiliaries, by far the best of his troops, to fight in the van on foot. His brother Sancho, with du Guesclin and the Marshal d'Audrehem, had the command of this force, 'which might number 1,000 men-at-arms'.³ To the right and left of this force, but somewhat in the rear, were drawn up wings of cavalry, some fully armed, but a large proportion evidently lightly armed, "*geneteurs*", *anglice* hobelers, men mounted on little genets or palfreys. Each wing again is given by the Spanish writer as about 1,000 men strong. Further back again, in the direct rear of the dismounted men-at-arms, came Enrique, with some 1,500 horse, and a large but undefined multitude of footmen from the hill country, Guipuzcoa, Biscay and the Asturias.

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¹ Ayala, I. 449, &c., in Spanish ; given also, but less accurately, in Spanish and Latin, Foed. III. 823 ; Froissart, who had heard of the correspondence, but not seen it, composes two letters of his own, the first being from Henry to the Prince, and the second from the Prince in answer, I. 525, 531 ; Chandos Herald, as usual, follows him, 192, 230.

² "En plaza llana sin aventaja alguna ;" Ayala, 454.

³ Id. 441. Ayala was with this division, and carried the pennon of the Order of "la Vanda", 'the Scarf', the Castilian Garter.

CH. XXVIII Many of these were armed with slings, an old Iberian
 1367 weapon.¹

These dispositions were altogether different from those that we have seen introduced by the English, and, to a certain extent, adopted by the French. The *hidalgos* had not yet come down to fighting on foot; the Prince therefore had to shape his array to meet that of the enemy. Lancaster and Chandos led the van, being all dismounted men-at-arms, English and Breton Free Lances, with Lancaster's personal contingent. The Gascon *noblesse* under the Captal, the Sire d'Albret and the Count of Armagnac supplied cavalry for the two wings, to face those of the enemy; the rear or reserve included Don Pedro and his personal supporters, James of Arragon, titular King of Majorca,² the banner of Navarre, and some more English and Gascon men-at-arms, the whole under the chief command of the Prince of Wales. With regard to the absence of the King of Navarre, that cunning fox, determined not to commit himself too deeply to either side, had very cleverly allowed himself to be taken prisoner by du Guesclin, while out on a hunting party, and was being safely guarded till the hurly-burly should be over, and all danger past and gone.³

Enrique advanced without looking for any vantage-ground. Not so the more experienced Prince. We are told that he inclined to the left, so as to secure a little hill, evidently to guard his flank.⁴ The day (Saturday 3rd April) began with a desertion on the Spanish side, a bad omen. Their slingers covered the advance, giving con-

¹ Ayala, I. 441; Froissart, I. 553, has cavalry only on the left; Chandos Herald, more correctly, has them both on left and right, 242.

² Third husband of Jeanne I, Queen of Naples, granddaughter of Robert the Good, King of Naples.

³ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 245; Froissart, 526, and notes.

⁴ "Un bien petit montaigne
 Avoit desoubz le main senestre;"

Chandos Herald, p. 262.

At p. 242 the careless writer had "à la droit main un montaigne". There can be no question as to which is right, as the English were on the right bank of the Navarilla flowing down to the Ebro. This detail, not given by Froissart, is one of the few passages that suggest that the writer may have been present. At any rate he wrote twenty years later and with Froissart's work before him.

siderable annoyance to the English until the archers drove them off. Then the two dismounted divisions joined issue with levelled spears, each side trying to break up the iron wall that faced it; "Guienne! Saint George!" as usual, was the cry on the English side; "Castilla! Santiago!" on the other side. When lances failed the combatants hammered at each other with daggers, swords and battle-axes. The struggle was maintained most gallantly, du Guesclin fully holding his ground. But the Spanish cavalry failed to come up. They hung back, and when the Gascons charged on the English right they broke and fled. On the English left the cavalry on either side seem to have faced each other for a time, the Spaniards eventually retiring or being driven off. The English left then joined hands with their comrades on the right in surrounding the devoted Spanish van. Every man of the force was either taken or killed. Don Enrique rode up two or three times successively on his charger, in the hopes of inspiring his main body to make an effort, but without success. The Prince came on with his division, and the rout was complete. Enrique got back to Najera and escaped;¹ but the bridge over the Najarilla was soon choked, and numbers were drowned in the river. In the evening the English heralds reported 560 men-at-arms killed on the side of the enemy, with four knights and sixty archers and footmen on their own side.² Of the Spanish footmen killed no account was taken. Chandos had run considerable risks in the action. He was borne down in the *mêlée*, and thrown on his back by a huge Castilian champion, Martin Fernandez by name, who wounded him in the face, and did his best to kill him. But Sir John managed to draw a knife from a breast-pocket, and stabbed his assailant till he got rid of him.³

Defeat of
Trasta-
mare.

One word more with regard to the numbers of the English. Ayala, the only writer whose estimate of the numbers can be taken into any consideration, the figures

¹ Ayala, I. 461.

² So Froissart and Chandos Herald; Ayala gives 400 as the number of those slain of the Spanish van; a substantial agreement.

³ Ayala, 451.

of the others being simply ludicrous,¹ while reckoning the dismounted men-at-arms on his own side as one thousand strong, attributes thrice that number to the English van.² The stubborn and protracted character of the struggle between the two vans, the two main bodies of the armies, with equal quality on either side, proves that there could not have been any material disparity in the numbers. Ayala could speak with authority of the numbers on his own side. We therefore accept his estimate of his own side, and apply it to the English van also, taking it as 1,000 strong of men-at-arms, *plus* Lancaster's archers. 500 cavalry would fall to each wing, and the balance, say, of 1,500, horse and foot, to the reserve under the Prince. The 3,000 men-at arms that Ayala attributes to our van may be taken as a liberal estimate of the total strength of the men-at-arms on our side.

This third brilliant success raised the military reputation of the Prince throughout Europe to the highest pitch; but at what cost we shall see.

Among the taken were Don Sancho, du Guesclin, the Marshal d'Audrehem, and Ayala the historian. Pedro, disappointed at not finding his brother among the slain, immediately began cutting off the heads of prisoners; but the Prince promptly put a stop to the bloody work.³

Next day, Sunday, the prisoners were paraded before Don Pedro and the Prince, and some curious scenes ensued. Pedro asked that all the prisoners of note should be placed in his hands, he undertaking to account to their captors for the ransoms. He also suggested that for the satisfaction of the captors the Prince might join in the guarantee. Edward, who was beginning to understand his friend's character, refused to allow a single prisoner to be given up, except men already under sentence of condemnation, as previously agreed between himself and Pedro. When the prisoners appeared the Prince fell foul of d'Audrehem, taxing him

¹ As instances take 7,000 Free Lances, Froissart, I. 519; 10,000 in the van alone at Roncesvalles, 524; this figure is doubled by Chandos Herald, p. 186; again we are told of 27,000 men-at-arms alone, with 40,000 foot and 60,000 foot, Froissart, 532, 533.

² "Tres mil omes de armas;" Ayala, I. 442.

³ Ayala, 458, 471; cf. Froissart, 539.

roundly with breach of faith, inasmuch as he had not yet paid up the ransom stipulated for his liberation after the battle of Poitiers; and he had sworn that till that ransom was paid he would not bear arms against Edward III, or his son, except under the banner of the Fleur de Lys. The Marshal boldly rejecting the imputation, the Prince offered to prove his case before a jury of knights, and d'Audrehem accepted the challenge. After dinner the Prince named a jury of twelve; four Englishmen, four Gascons, and four Bretons, and then stated his case. The Marshal admitted the facts, but pleaded that he had not taken up arms against the Prince or his father, but against Don Pedro, who was the 'head and captain of that host';¹ the Prince being a mere 'soldier' and hireling in Pedro's service.² The jury at once admitted the plea, to the great relief of all parties, including the Prince, who had no wish to deal hardly with a Marshal of France and a gallant knight of sixty years' standing and upwards.³

From Najera the allies removed to Burgos. After a due interval of feasting the Prince began to ask for a settlement of accounts, and for the delivery of Biscay as promised. Lengthy palavers ensued; at last, Pedro, who was in no hurry to part with his auxiliaries, gave a promise that he would pay up within a year—the Infantas Beatrice, Costanza and Isabel to remain at Bayonne as hostages. Pedro then took his leave of the Prince, explaining that his presence in the South was needed to hasten the collection of the taxes that he had imposed.⁴ Left to support his men as best he could, the Prince was obliged to move on and on, by stages, from Burgos to Amusco, from Amusco to Medina del Campo, from Medina to Madrigal. Spanish heat, Spanish fruit and wines, coupled with a great deficiency of proper food soon told on the Northern constitutions; fever and dysentery decimated the ranks; even the Prince and the King of Majorca were attacked.⁵ Months passed away

¹ "Capitan é cabo desta batalla."

² "Asoldado é gagero."

³ Ayala, I. 458.

⁴ Ayala, 473-483; Foed. III. 825; Froissart, I. 540. The treaties were again ratified on the 2nd May.

⁵ Ayala, 495, 505, 507, 511.

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but not a ducat could be extracted from Don Pedro. Meanwhile Enrique had turned the tables on the English, and was waging war on Gascony by the help of the Duke of Anjou. At last, however reluctantly, the Prince had to turn homewards. He marched to Soria: there he was detained for some time in doubt whether a passage would be granted either through Arragon or Navarre. Eventually a treaty was concluded at Tarrazona, on the borders of Old Castile, with Pedro of Arragon,¹ by which Edward not only obtained leave for the passage of his troops, but also effected a fresh alliance between Arragon and Castile, a very forgiving act on his part. Then Charles of Navarre came forward to offer the Prince a passage by the more commodious route of Roncesvalles. The permission was accepted, the main body of the army being left to cross by some of the rougher Arragonese "ports".² Financially involved and broken in health the Prince returned to Bordeaux. No sooner was he out of Spain than Don Enrique re-entered it.³

End of
Pedro the
Cruel.

The end of the Castilian drama must be shortly told. Don Enrique's cause made steady progress. By November he had been again received at Burgos. Early in 1368 he laid siege to Leon and took it. On the 30th April he was strong enough to attack Toledo, and he kept it beleaguered for ten months and a half. The strength of Pedro's party was in Murcia and Andalusia, but even there Cordova was against him.⁴ On the 20th November Enrique signed a treaty with France, a renewal of the war with England being contemplated.⁵ At last, early in 1369, Pedro made a supreme effort to relieve Toledo, his friends the Moors of Granada lending him help. Enrique heard of his coming, and, determined to anticipate him, took the road to Seville.

¹ This treaty was apparently ratified by Edward III in January 1369; Foed. III. 855.

² See Ayala, I. 493-511; Froissart, I. 540-545, and notes; Chandos Herald, 286-298.

³ Enrique passed over in September; he signs near Huesca 24th September; Ayala, 513, note. ⁴ Ayala, 516-527, and notes; Mariana, b. XVII, ch. 12.

⁵ Foed. III. 850, 869; Ayala, 534, note.

Pedro was reported to be halting at Montiel, in La Mancha, near the source of the Guadiana. On the night of Tuesday 13th March 1369 Enrique bivouacked among the hills, within two leagues of Montiel. Strange fires were reported to Pedro, and he sent out orders for his outlying detachments to draw in on the morrow. But before daylight Enrique was again on the march. 'At prime' (6 a.m.) he fell on Pedro's troops before they were half collected, and scattered them at the first onset. Pedro fled into the castle. To make sure of him Enrique built a wall of stones¹ round the place. Food and water failing, Pedro opened a negotiation with Du Guesclin, who had again taken service with Enrique. Du Guesclin refused to connive at Pedro's escape. Pressed to think the matter over, he said that he would consult his friends; he did so, and by their advice told Enrique. The result was that a trap was laid to secure Don Pedro. At dead of night he left his stronghold, placed himself in the hands of Du Guesclin's men, and was taken to Du Guesclin's quarters. Next moment the figure of Enrique, armed *cap-à-pie*, darkened the threshold of the dim "*posada*". Another moment the two brothers eyed each other in silence, and then Enrique, as if maddened by vindictive passions, sprang upon his victim and gashed him in the face. Pedro, a tall powerful man of active habits, closed with his puny² assailant; threw him, and, if left to himself, would speedily have dispatched him: but Pedro was but one man against many; a dozen blades were drawn upon him, and he fell a helpless victim (23rd March).³

Don Pedro had his good points; he was active, temperate and abstemious, except in the matter of women; he enforced justice and kept good peace: but his friendly relations with Moors and Jews added to his unpopularity, while his sanguinary disposition caused his fall. Chaucer places

¹ "Una pared de piedra seca"; Ayala; "formaceis parietibus circumvallata moenia"; Mariana.

² For Enrique's stature, which was under the average, see Ayala, I. 544.

³ Ayala, 537, 544, &c., comparing for the final catastrophe another contemporary account given in a note by Zurita, p. 555, and Mariana, 821-824.

CH. XXVIII his fate among the great tragedies of the world, on a par
 1369 with the endings of Samson and Belshazzar.

“ O noble Petro, the glori of Spain,
 Whom fortune held so heigh in mageste,
 Wel oughte men thy piteous deth complayne;
 Thy bastard brother made the to fle,
 And after, at a sege, by subtilte
 Thow were bytrayed, and lad to his tent
 Wher as he with his oughne hond slough the
 Succeedyng in thy lond and in thy rent.”¹

¹ Monkes Tale, II. 199, ed. Skeat, 1878. Chaucer had intimate relations with the House of Lancaster, and eventually received a pension of £10 from John of Gaunt (1374; Register, I. p. 232); his wife's sister Katherine was in the service of Duchess Blanche; and his own wife Philippa, after being in the service of the Queen, entered that of Pedro's daughter Costanza, John of Gaunt's second wife. Chaucer evidently gives their views in connecting Du Guesclin with the death of Pedro. The Lavisser writer, IV. 181, leaves Du Guesclin out, and implicates another Breton, one Yvain Lakouët, and the Viscount of Roccaberti, an Arragonese. He gives no reference.

CHAPTER XXIX

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1367-1369

Domestic Affairs.—Statute of Kilkenny.—William of Whittlesey, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Difficulties of the Prince of Wales in Aquitaine.—Appeal of Gascon Lords against him.—Citation to Paris.—Declaration of War.—Parliament.—The Third Plague.

THE year 1367 was not fertile in domestic incidents of importance. The Scots sent their tribute with exemplary punctuality.¹ The French also paid up handsomely, 192,000 crowns being received from Charles on account of the second million of his father's ransom.² With minor sums from the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon the extraordinary receipts of the year must have been considerable.³ No Parliament was held in England; but an important local Parliament was held in Ireland, in the first week of March, as the crowning act of the viceroyalty of Lionel Duke of Clarence, who was under recall.⁴ The Statute of Kilkenny enacted by that Assembly was "long regarded as a masterpiece of colonial legislation". It carries the separatist policy to the greatest lengths; forbidding every sort of connexion by marriage, fostering of children, or otherwise, between English and Irish. All loyal subjects must use the English language, follow English customs, 'and not ride otherwise than in saddles, after the English fashion'; Irishmen not to be admitted to any benefice

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1367

Statute of
Kilkenny.

¹ See Foed. III. 785, 818, 841, 858; also Exchequer Rolls Scotland, II. 225, 263, 291, 305.

² May–November; Foed. 826, 834. The last of the first million, and a first instalment of 6,200 crowns on the second million, had been paid in January 1366; Id. 784.

³ Id. 837; Duke John IV was paying for his former maintenance in England, and Bourbon for having been allowed to visit France on parole. See Pell Receipts.

⁴ Lionel was succeeded by Gerald Fitz-Maurice, fourth Earl of Desmond; Gilbert, Viceroys, 227; Foed. 822.

CHAP. XXIX or religious House : Englishmen to be admitted, whether
 1367 born in Ireland or not : the English to hold no intercourse with Irish musicians, story-tellers, or rhymers, who might act as spies or agents : dwellers on the borders not to hold parleys or make treaties with any hostile Irish or English, without legal permission : the native games of hurling and quoits are forbidden. The only scrap of sound legislation in the whole Act is the appointment of Wardens of the Peace for each county, with power to assess the inhabitants for horsemen, hobelers and foot-soldiers.¹

Few names in our history have left more enduring associations than that of William Longe of Wykeham. Born in the year 1334 of a family of middling position, his industry and talents commended him at an early age to the notice of William Edendon, his predecessor in the See of Winchester. Architecture was his original vocation ; he was first employed at Winchester ; in 1356 he was appointed Surveyor of all the King's works at Windsor ;² in 1362 he took priest's Orders, being already in the enjoyment of considerable preferment. But if his means were ample his liberality and turn for spending were not less. In 1364 he appears as Keeper of the Privy Seal. Active, energetic, and discreet, he held for a time quite the first place in the Royal councils.³ At the death of Bishop Edendon (7th October 1366) the Chapter readily postulated him as bishop ; but Urban took offence at something, and withheld his sanction till the 13th July 1367. In the following month William was appointed Chancellor, in the place of Simon Langham ; on the 10th October he was finally consecrated Bishop of Winchester.⁴

In 1363 Lionel of Antwerp had lost his wife Elisabeth de

¹ See Gilbert, 224. The Act has been printed with notes by Mr. James Hardiman ; Irish Archaeol. Soc., 1842, q.v.

² His duties must have been miscellaneous, as he had the charge of ' the King's eight dogs there ', receiving for each three farthings a day, and 2d. for a ' boy ' to mind them ; Issues, Devon, 163, 176.

³ Froissart says of him : " En ce temps régnoit en Angleterre un prêtre qui s'appeloit messire Guillaume Wikans," I. 562.

⁴ See Foss, IV. 112, &c., Reg. Sacr. ; Foed. III. 797, 817, 827.

Burgh. A second marriage was now being arranged for him. Galeazzo Visconti, the ambitious lord of Milan, having secured the hand of a French princess for his son Giovanni, now aspired to a connexion with the royal House of England, offering to settle lands in Piedmont to the value of 24,000 gold florins (£8,000), with a dowry of 100,000 florins down (£33,333 6s. 8d.), on his second daughter Violante and the Duke of Clarence. The settlements were arranged in the course of 1366 and 1367; the dowry was apparently received by Edward, and expended on an extravagant outfit for Lionel, who was sent across the Channel in April 1368 with a retinue of 457 men and 1,280 horses.¹ On the 16th of the month he entered Paris; on Whit-Monday (5 June) the marriage ceremony was performed in Milan Cathedral. The poet Petrarch sat as an honoured guest at the wedding-feast. Four months of English living on Italian soil finished poor Lionel. On the 17th October 1368 he died aged 29 years and 11 months.² By Elisabeth de Burgh he left an only daughter, Philippa, married shortly after his death to Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, a fateful union, the root-stem of the future Plantagenet House of York, the bugbear of the House of Lancaster.³

The grants of 1365 having expired, the renewal of the surtaxes on wool was the chief business of a Parliament that sat at Westminster 1-21 May 1368.⁴ The duties were renewed, but only for two years, and at slightly different rates, namely 38s. 6d. on the sack and the twelve score wool fells, the duty on the last of leather remaining at 80s.⁵

The Parliament of 1368 was the last attended by Simon Langham as Archbishop. In the course of the autumn, in the quiet retirement of his favourite residence at Otford, he received an intimation that in the previous month of

¹ Foed. III. 842-845; Devon, Issues, 192.

² Froissart, I. 546, note; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 251; Barnes, 719. Lionel was deeply in debt when he died; Foed. 887. 'He astonished the Italians by the excess of his intemperance'; Sismondi, XI. 129.

³ Complete Peerage. The reader will bear in mind that "Plantagenet" as a family name was invented by the Duke of York about 1450.

⁴ Lords' Report.

⁵ Rot. Parl. II. 294, &c.

CHAP. XXIX

1368

The
Primacy.

September he had been raised to the dignity of Cardinal Presbyter of St. Sixtus.¹ Ninety years had elapsed since an English Primate, namely Robert Kilwardly, had been raised to the like honour. Like his predecessor, Simon bowed to the Papal mandate, and applied to the King for leave to go to Rome, at the same time resigning the Primacy. Edward, provoked at an arrangement in which he had not been consulted, refused the leave to travel, but accepted the resignation, seizing every penny of the archiepiscopal revenues. In solitude and disgrace Simon went back to Otford. Meanwhile a successor had been found for him in William of Whittlesey, Bishop of Worcester, who had been 'provided' by the Pope. Edward was induced to accept of this nomination, and eventually allowed Langham to depart in peace. On the last day of February or the 1st of March 1369 he left England.² A few years later we shall find him coming back to his native land as a mediator.

Whittlesey was a near relation, perhaps a nephew, of Archbishop Islip, by whom he had been brought up; he was sent to Peterhouse, Cambridge; was appointed Bishop of Rochester in 1362, under Islip; and translated to Worcester in 1364. "All that can be said of him is that he was a man of commanding presence, eloquent and discreet." But he soon became incapacitated through bad health.³

The Spanish campaign proved the turning-point in the fortunes of Edward III. "From that time the swelling tide of prosperity was found to ebb apace."⁴ A policy so inflated could only be sustained by continuous success; at the first check the hollow fabric was bound to collapse. Pedro's default had not released the Prince of Wales from his personal liability to the men who had crossed the Pyrenees under his banner; he hastened to recognize the fact, assuring the "Fellowships" that they should not be losers by the bad faith of the King of Spain.⁵ Edward was

¹ 23 September 1368; Birchington, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 47; 27 September, Foss; Hook; 21 September, Barnes, from Godwine, *De Praesulibus*.

² Birchington, *sup.* 48; *Foed.* III. 849, 857.

³ Hook, *Archbishops*, IV. 221-228; *Angl. Sacr.* I. 378, 535.

⁴ Barnes. ⁵ Froissart, I. 545, 547; *Chandos Herald*, 297.

rich in his private and public means, and in the means of his wife; but he was extravagant—his court at Bordeaux being one of the most ostentatious in Europe.¹ He had already spent largely on the expedition, having, we are told, sacrificed even his private plate; and was quite unable to meet the further sums due. But the inability to pay off the Free Lances entailed the burden of providing for their subsistence, and the Prince provided for them by quartering them partly on Gascony, and partly on France.² The Gascons refused to submit to this iniquity; and the Prince therefore early in 1368 was obliged to send the Companies to seek a livelihood elsewhere.³ Early in February they crossed the Loire and betook themselves to their old hunting grounds in North-Eastern France, their 'chamber' as they called it. Charles V addressed no further complaints to the King of England. The time for that was past; he was quietly getting ready. In the meantime he sent men to watch the marauders and cut off stragglers, but he still persisted in forbidding general actions.⁴

The Prince's current expenditure had been reduced, but the outstanding debt remained. Provincial Estates were held by him at Saint-Emilion in October 1367, and the expedient suggested by his Chancellor, John Harewell, Bishop of Bath, was a "*fouage*", or hearth tax, of ten *livres tournois* to be levied for five years. The impost was by no means new in France. In Languedoc it had been cheerfully voted again and again for the war against the English.⁵ Even now the lowland districts of Poitou the Limousin

¹ In some of the accounts of Aquitaine, printed by Delpit, Documents Français, p. 176, we find a sum of 445,849 shillings Guienne (£20,000 ?) accounted for as follows: Prince's household, 211,772; Wages of war, 171,305; Pensions and sundry, 22,000.

² On the 16th November 1367 the King wrote to the Prince to stop depredations on the French committed by English subjects, of which the King of France was complaining; cf. Vic et Vaissete, IV. 335.

³ "Aller ailleurs pour chasser et vivre."

⁴ Froissart, I. 546; Sismondi, XI. 84; cf. Knighton, 2629. For details of the doings of these Companies see Grandes Chroniques, VI. 249. For local efforts to get rid of them, Lavissee, IV. 181.

⁵ "Du temps de Charles V cette taxe était de quatre livres tournois"; Buchon. See Vic et Vaissete, 317.

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1368

and Saintonge were prepared to submit, if the Prince would only pledge himself not to tamper with the currency for seven years. But the warlike Pyrenean lords of Armagnac Albret and Comminges refused to allow the money to be levied on their estates, alleging that under the French Kings their lands had never been subject to toll tribute or custom,¹ and that the Prince had sworn to maintain them in these immunities.² When Armagnac ventured to point out further that the Prince owed him 200,000 florins, Edward, whose temper had not been improved by loss of health, again gave him rough words. For redress the Count turned to the King of France, as his natural overlord, and the other leading Gascons agreed to act with him. In April 1368 an appeal against the claim of the Duke of Aquitaine to tax them was lodged with Charles; and in May the malcontents went up to Paris to press their case. Of course they met with a great reception; and Armagnac's nephew, Arnaud Amanieu, the Sire d'Albret, was immediately married to Marguerite de Bourbon, sister to the Queen.³ On the 1st June Arnaud promised to support the King against his enemies, and received large subventions in money. On the 30th June a secret treaty between the King, Armagnac and his adherents was signed, by which Charles extended his protection to those who had appealed to his court; confirmed all the immunities of Guyenne; guaranteed them against any *fouage* for ten years; and pledged himself never to divest himself of that overlordship for which the Gascons were prepared to fight. They in return swore to recognize his overlordship, and fight for him in or out of Guyenne. On the morrow Armagnac received a grant of Bigorre and other lands, to be won from the English.⁴

Appeal
against
him.

A sense of French nationality was the last thing to be looked for in the Gascons. From Roman times downward the men of Southern Gaul had retained a distinctive

¹ "De nul subside, impositions, fouages ni gabelles."

² Froissart, I. 547.

³ Id.; Lavissee, IV. 228.

⁴ See Froissart, 558, note Buchon; Martene and Durand, Thes. I. 1507; Lavissee, sup.; Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités, 291.

character. From the days of Eleanor of Guyenne the great feudatories had retained a large measure of independence by playing off the English against the French. The Southern provinces won from England by Philip Augustus and St. Louis had gained little by the change; their rights had been systematically violated by the French; while Guyenne had thriven under English rule. The English rule was just, but the English rule had ceased to be popular. The English barons who attended the Prince had failed to make friends of the French barons; their cold insular manners were intolerable; the Prince gave everything to English officers, and the native lords found that they were of no account in their own land.¹

The revolt of Gascony might be said to have begun.² But Charles was careful to keep the matter very quiet. When Lionel came to Paris on his way to Italy about this time, he was received with open arms.³ Charles was in no hurry, and in fact wanted to gain time, and to clear his position legally and morally. A council having decided in favour of entertaining the appeal of the Gascons (30 June), the resolution was kept secret, while a lengthy memorandum was drawn up, detailing the infractions of the peace of which the King of England had been guilty, and justifying Charles's conduct in entertaining the appeal, on the ground that the pledge not to exercise rights of overlordship was only to hold good to the 30th November 1361, when the reciprocal renunciations were to be delivered.⁴ It was not till the 28th December that a meeting of Notables proclaimed that Charles was entitled, and in fact bound, to accept the appeal of the Gascon lords. A formal citation to appear in Paris on the 1st May 1369 was then addressed to the Prince of Wales, and presented at Bordeaux, in January 1369. The Prince shook his head wrathfully when the

¹ Sismondi, XI. 93; Froissart, I. 558. The Prince's Seneschals were all English; see Chandos Herald, 335, 381. Guichard d'Angle, who was Marshal of Aquitaine, and the Captal de Buch, were the only natives in positions of confidence.

² The receipts from Querci, Périgord, and the Agenais cease from the year 1367; Delpit, Documents Fr., 158 etc. See also Lavissee, IV. 229.

³ Grandes Chroniques, VI. 251.

⁴ Id. 283. See above, p. 441.

CHAP. XXIX summons was tendered to him. 'We will go to Paris if
 1369 the King wishes it, but it shall be bassinet on head, and with
 60,000 men.'¹ Fine words (if uttered) which the Prince
 no longer had the power to make good. His ailments
 were increasing; dropsical symptoms had begun to appear,
 and he could no longer mount his horse. In his fury he
 ordered the bearers of the offensive citation—a lawyer and
 a knight—to be thrown into prison.²

War im-
 pending.

It would seem that the Prince had warned his father
 of impending danger; but the King, "weary of war and old
 before his time, shut his eyes to the impending storm." The
 courtiers agreed with him in thinking that the Prince
 believed in war because he wished for war;³ and an
 order recalling him was issued; but that purpose was
 soon abandoned.⁴ Edward's alarm, however, must have
 been excited before the date assigned to the citation; as
 on the 16th January he appointed John of Hastings, the
 young Earl of Pembroke,⁵ to take reinforcements to Aquit-
 taine; a few days later Guy Brian, the Admiral, was
 instructed to raise sailors and fighting men in the southern
 counties to resist 'the malice' of the French, who were
 'already on the sea'.⁶ In February the Earl of Cambridge
 was appointed to command the reinforcements that were
 going to Bordeaux; while £22,000 in cash were sent to
 the Prince of Wales.⁷ But the preparations lacked vigour,
 the thoughts of the government being mostly directed
 towards measures for the defence of Calais and the home
 coasts, so completely had the tide turned. At any rate
 the reliefs ordered for Aquitaine were altogether inade-
 quate; Pembroke was apparently given 60 men-at-arms

¹ Lavissee, IV. sup.; Froissart, I. 560, gives the citation in extenso, but
 Froissart's documents are often concocted, cf. Rot. Parl. II. 299.

² Froissart, 561.

³ Walsingham, I. 306; Kitchin.

⁴ Foed. III. 845; 25 March 1368.

⁵ Son of Laurence of Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who was grandson of Isabelle,
 daughter of William of Valence, Nicolas, Historic Peerage. John had been
 married in 1359 to the Lady Margaret, neither of them being fourteen years old,
 but she died in 1361; Green, Princesses, III. 298. John's mother was Agnes,
 daughter of Roger Mortimer, first Earl of March.

⁶ Foed. 857, 858, 862.

⁷ Pell Issue Roll, Mich. 43 Ed. III, 3rd February.

and 80 archers;¹ but we do hear of a further body of 900 archers ordered for Aquitaine.² The officers in Ponthieu were told to be on the look-out, but no help was sent to them. Charles, however, kept carefully postponing any declaration of war, or any admission that the treaty of Brétigny had been infringed. In October and November he had notified the appeals to the Seneschals of Gascony as mere matters of law; and he had written to the men of Montauban that in receiving the appeals of the Gascon lords he had committed no breach of the treaty.³ He was content to let time work in his favour. Without neglecting naval or military preparations he was working for a national movement, and a general uprising for the expulsion of the English. In the meantime, in March, he sent over the Count of Saarebrück and Guillaume de Dormans to amuse Edward with negotiations.⁴ On the 6th April the King issued writs for a Parliament; to meet on the 8th June; on the 26th of the month he ordered a present of fifty pipes of wine from the King of France, that had just been accepted, to be sent back.⁵ The French envoys went home to consult their master, promising that a final answer to Edward's demands should be given by Whitsunday (20 May).⁶ On landing they were greeted with the news that the fat was in the fire, and the rising begun. On the 29th April the citizens of Abbeville had opened their gates to the Count of Saint-Pol. In eight days Rue, Crotoy, Saint-Valéri, all Ponthieu save Noyelle, was in the hands of the French.⁷ From the 9th to the 11th May Charles held Estates General in Paris. Edward's letters complaining of the reception of the Gascon appeals were laid before the Assembly, with the draft of an elaborate answer in which the French King reasserted his right to receive the appeals, on the ground that the *dernier ressort* had not definitely passed out of his hands by reason of Edward's default in

CHAP. XXIX
1369
Revolt of
Ponthieu.

¹ Issue Roll, 44 Ed. III, p. 406 (Devon).

² Foed. III. 863-865, 874.

³ Vic et Vaissete, IV. 337, 338; Sismondi, XI. 99.

⁴ Froissart, I. 564.

⁵ Lords' Report; Foed. 864.

⁶ Foed. 883.

⁷ Lavissee, IV. 230. Dormans the envoy had been fomenting the rising.

CHAP. XXIX not tendering a proper renunciation of the crown of France.

1369

The question, no doubt, was a very nice one, as already mentioned, namely, whether under the wording of the Calais additions to the treaty of Brétigny the pledge not to exercise rights of overlordship was to hold good till Edward delivered his renunciation of the Crown, whenever that might be—or only to the 30th November 1361, the day appointed for the renunciations. Even if the literal wording of the clause were not held to favour the former view, it was not to be supposed that the French king could be kept indefinitely under disability, because his adversary failed to perform his share of the compact. Naturally, and probably rightly, the Estates gave their entire approval to their King's conduct, and also to the letters to be sent to the King of England which were read out. Prayers and processions were ordered, and finally on the 24th and 25th May letters tantamount to a declaration of war were sent to Edward.¹ When the terms of the French answers to Edward's complaints became known, John of Gaunt was reported to have said, 'Charles is not a wise king but a mere lawyer.' Charles retorted, 'If we are lawyers we will draw them a plea that will weary their ears to hear.'²

The renunciation of the treaty of Brétigny was laid before Parliament as soon as it met; but the only retaliation that Edward could suggest was the resumption of the double style. The lieges thought that the King would be fully justified in taking that step. On the 11th June Edward resumed the style of King of France; the French arms he had never laid aside.³

The Commons did not urge any vigorous prosecution of the war abroad—they never had urged it at any time—but they were anxious that effectual measures should be taken for defence of the coasts at home, as rumours of impending invasion were rife, and in fact large armaments were being fitted out in the Seine. For supply they suggested that the King might again lay hands on the Priories

¹ See the documents, *Grandes Chroniques*, VI. 272–306; Lavissee, IV. 231.

² Lavissee, 228.

³ Rot. Parl. II. 299, 300.

Alien ; while for themselves they offered to renew the wool duties on condition of the abolition of the objectionable Calais Wool-Staple. The King, as usual, conceded everything that was asked ; a remedial statute was passed, and the surtaxes on wool and leather renewed for three years, the duty on the sack and twelve score fells being raised to 43s. 4d., that on the last remaining at 80s., in addition always to the old *Magna Custuma* from natives and both *Magna* and *Parva* from aliens.¹ The clergy intimated that if they were consulted in their clerical assemblies they might make a grant. Diocesan Synods and provincial Convocations were accordingly summoned, and Tenths for three years granted both by Canterbury and York.²

The year witnessed another outbreak of the pestilence, "the Third Plague," besides a failure of crops, caused by excessive rains in the autumn ; in the following summer wheat rose to 10s. and 20s., rates not seen since 1316.³ An order of the 8th June for removing all shambles from the City may mark the beginning of the epidemic.⁴ On the 22nd July Archbishop Whittlesey ordered public prayers, the pestilence then raging.⁵ The clergy as usual suffered severely ; we have the deaths recorded of Louis Charlton, Bishop of Hereford ; John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter ; Thomas Percy, Bishop of Norwich ; and among lay folk those of Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk ; and the amiable and popular Blanche of Lancaster, the Duke's wife. But the greatest loss of all was that of Edward's faithful Queen Philippa of Hainault, "the moost gentyll moost lyberall moost courtesse that ever was quene in her dayes." She died at Windsor on the 15th August.⁶ Her removal left the way open for "the reign of Alice Perrers", one of Philippa's ladies, who was now raised in everything but the name to the dignity of a Queen. A few years later, the

Third
Plague.

Death of
Queen
Philippa.

¹ Rot. Parlt. sup. ; Statute, 43 Ed. III.

² Wake, 301 ; Issue Roll, 44 Ed., p. 137 (Devon).

³ Murimuth, Cont. 205 ; Walsingham ; Rogers, Prices, I. 213, II. 147.

⁴ Memorials London, Riley.

⁵ Wilkins, Conc. III. 238.

⁶ Froissart, I. 593 (Berner's translation) ; Murimuth, sup,

CHAP. XXIX very robes and jewels worn by Philippa were transferred to her.¹

1369

Neither side had failed to cast about for alliances. The Dukes of Juliers and Gueldres were still attached to the English court by family ties. Edward of Gueldres was the son of Eleanor of England, and Juliers was the son of Philippa's sister. Both of them received money. £5,000 were paid to the Duke of Gueldres as a gift, other German princes divided £8,000 among them.² Negotiations were opened with Flanders and Navarre. Charles the Bad waited to see which side would offer the most.³ The Flemish burghers had always held by England. Louis of Maël, recognizing what the French alliance had cost his father, had sought for friendship with England, and at the death of King John had engaged his sole daughter and heiress Margaret to Edmund of Langley.⁴ But at the instance of Charles *le Sage* the betrothal was quashed and the marriage forbidden by Urban V. Charles then put forward his youngest brother Philip, Duke of Burgundy, as a suitor for the hand of the great heiress. As she was widow of the late Duke, Philip of Rouvres, by this arrangement she would simply retain her position in Burgundy with a fresh Duke. Louis' consent had to be bought with large pecuniary and territorial concessions, but finally on the 19th June 1369 the marriage was celebrated at Ghent.⁵ The policy of endowing Burgundy with the wealth of Flanders might well be questioned; and in fact the marriage proved altogether disastrous to France. With the Emperor Charles IV and Henry of Trastamare friendly relations were maintained.

Both sides made overtures to Scotland. But the

¹ 1373, Green, Princesses, III. 210; Foed. III. 989. The name of Alice Perrers figures in the Rolls from 1366 onwards; Pauli, II. 290. Blanche of Lancaster left an only son, Henry of Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV; also two daughters, Philippa and Elizabeth. See the pedigree, "John of Gaunt," Armitage Smith, p. 94.

² Pell Issue Rolls, Easter 43 Ed.

³ Foed. 871, 879.

⁴ See the contract, Foed. 750; 19 October 1364.

⁵ See Lavisie, IV. 232; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 271, 307.

English were first in the field ; when French envoys landed in Scotland they found that David was in England making terms. On the 18th June an extension of the truce for fourteen years was proclaimed ; on the 20th July a formal treaty was sealed in Edinburgh, and ratified in London on the 24th of August. Edward agreed to give time for the payment of the balance of the ransom, which was put down as £34,000, to be liquidated by annual instalments of 4,000 marks(£2,666 13s. 4d.) each, instead of £4,000 as originally stipulated. But the most interesting provision of the new compact was the proclamation of unrestricted intercourse between the two countries without requirement of leave or licence.¹

The King's original intention had been to send the Duke of Lancaster as well as the Earl of Cambridge to Aquitaine. The revolt of Ponthieu led to a change of plan. The Duke was sent to Calais, with the Earls of Hereford and Salisbury, and a force of 100 men-at-arms and 600 archers,² while Cambridge went to Aquitaine to join his friend and former playmate the Earl of Pembroke.³

¹ Exchequer Rolls, Scotland, II. 345, 348 ; Foed. III. 873, 877, 878.

² Foed. 864-873 ; June 1369.

³ See Green, Princesses, III. 297. Edmund took out 400 men-at-arms, and as many archers ; K. R. Excheq. " Army," Bundle 25, No. 18.

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